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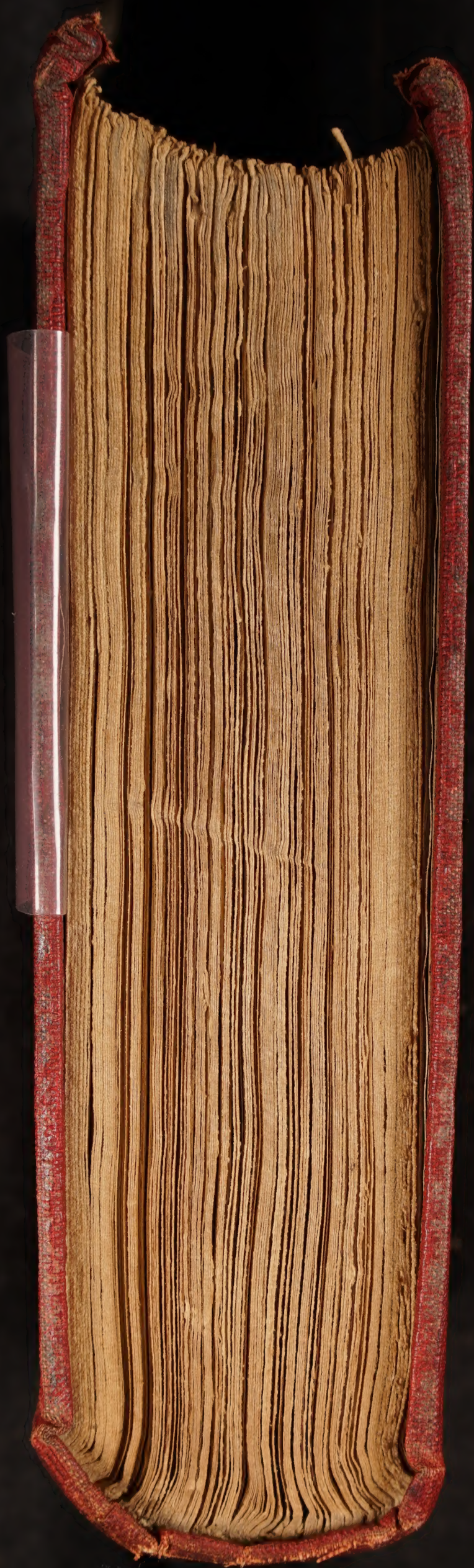
VOL V

BELL AND DALDY

1862







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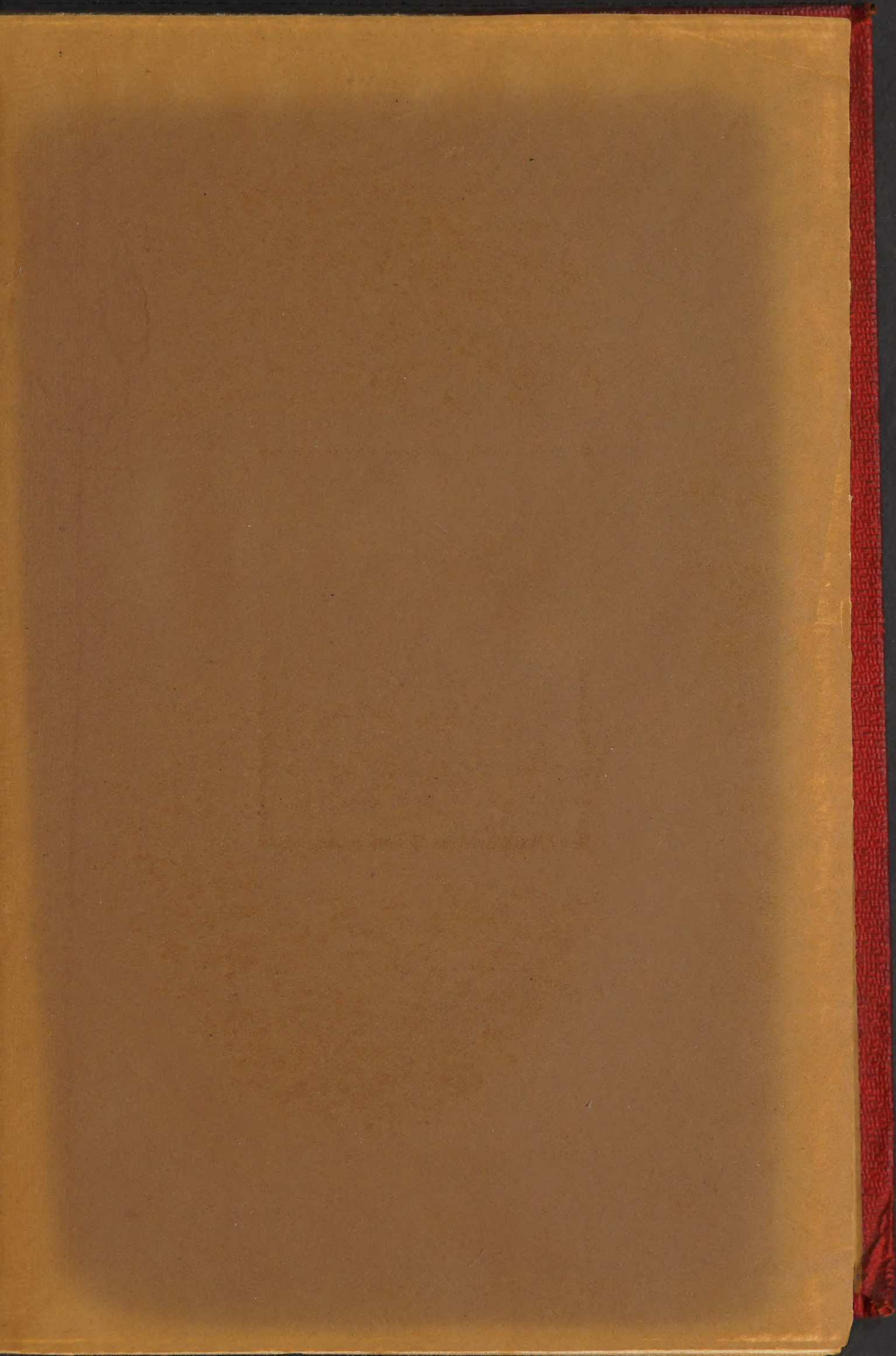
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IN FIVE VOLUMES
VOL. V.



THE
WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT
IN FIVE VOLUMES
VOL. IV

THE WORKS OF

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EDITED BY

J. PAYNE COLLIER, F.S.A.

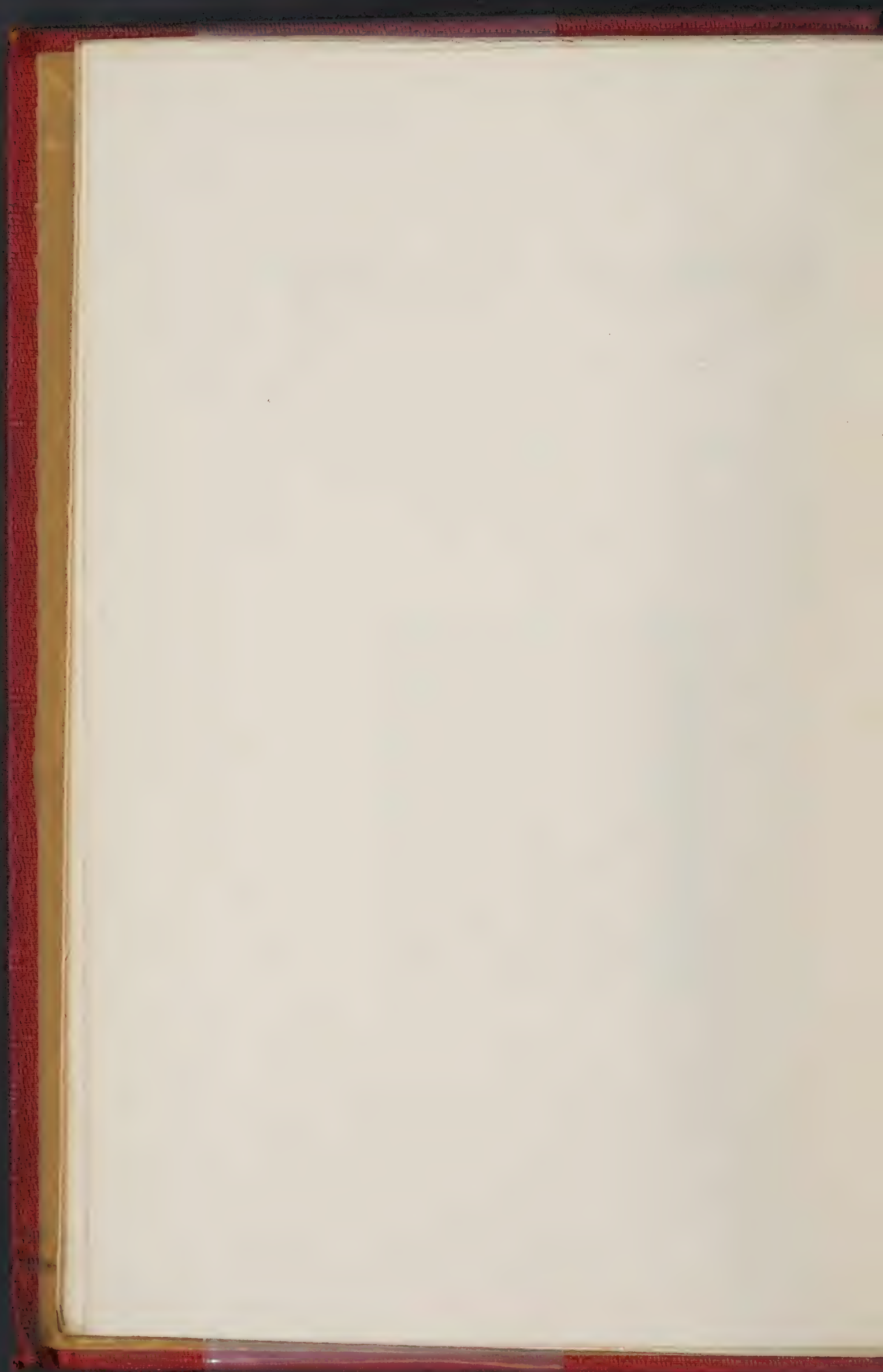
VOL. V.



LONDON

BELL AND DALDY FLEET STREET

1862



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VISIONS OF THE WORLDS

VANITIE.^a

I.



NE day, whiles that my daylie cares
did sleepe,
My spirit, shaking off her earthly
prison,
Began to enter into meditation deepe
Of things exceeding reach of com-
mon reason ;

Such as this age, in which all good is geason,^b 5
And all that humble is, and meane debaced,
Hath brought forth in her last declining season,
Griefe of good mindes, to see goodnesse disgraced.
On which when as my thought was throgly placed,
Unto my eyes strange shoves presented were, 10
Picturing that which I in minde embraced,
That yet those fights empassion me full nere.

^a *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie.*] These poems have no new title-page, but are included, like the "Visions" of Bellay and Petrarch, under the general title of "Complaints," vol. iv. p. 289, the signatures running on from one portion of the work to the other. C. .

^b *in which all good is geason.*] All good is rare. See the note F. Q. vi. iv. 37 [vol. iv. p. 107]. TODD.

2 VISIONS OF THE WORLDS VANITIE.

Such as they were (*faire Ladie*)^c take in worth,
That when time serves may bring things better forth.

2.

In Summers day, when Phœbus fairly shone, 15
I saw a Bull as white as driven snowe,
With gilden hornes embowed like the Moone,
In a fresh flowring meadow lying lowe:
Up to his eares the verdant grasse did growe,
And the gay floures did offer to be eaten; 20
But he with fatnes so did overflowe,
That he all wallowed in the weedes downe beaten,
Ne car'd with them his daintie lips to sweeten:
Till that a Brize,^d a scorned little creature,
Through his faire hide his angrie sting did threaten, 25
And vext so fore, that all his goodly feature,
And all his plenteous pasture nought him pleased:
So by the small the great is oft diseased.

3.

Beside the fruitfull shore of muddie Nile
Upon a funnie banke outstretched lay, 30
In monstrous length, a mightie Crocodile,
That, cram'd with guiltles blood and greedie pray
Of wretched people travailing that way,
Thought all things lesse than his disdainfull pride.

^c *faire Ladie.*] See also the conclusion of the "Visions of Petrarch." These were dedicated probably to the same Lady; to whose name, however, we have no other guide than the circumstance of these Visions immediately following, in the edition of 1591, the "Muiopotmos," which is dedicated to Lady Carey; and of no separate title to the "Visions." TODD.

^d *a Brize.*] A *gad* or *horse-fly*. Cotgrave writes it the "*brizze* or *gadbee*." See Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida," A. i. S. 3:—

"The herd hath more annoyance by the *brize*,

"Than by the tiger."

TODD. See also "Ant. and Cleop." A. iii. S. 8. Chapman, in his translation of the "Odyssey," B. xxii. l. 387, has this applicable couplet:—

"The high-fed bullocks fly, whom in the spring,
When days are long, *gad-bees* or *breezes* sting." C.

VISIONS OF THE WORLDS VANITIE. 3

I saw a little Bird, cal'd Tedula,^e 35
 The least of thousands which on earth abide,
 That forst this hideous beast to open wide
 The greisly gates of his devouring hell,
 And let him feede, as Nature did provide,
 Upon his jawes, that with blacke venime swell. 40
 Why then should greatest things the least disdain,
 Sith that so small so mightie can constrain?

4.

The kingly Bird that beares Joves thunder-clap
 One day did scorne the simple Scarabee,^f
 Proud of his highest service, and good hap, 45
 That made all other Foules his thralls to bee:
 The filly Flie, that no redresse did see,
 Spide where the Eagle built his towring nest,
 And, kindling fire within the hollow tree,
 Burnt up his yong ones, and himselfe distrest: 50
 Ne suffred him in anie place to rest,
 But drove in Joves owne lap his eggs to lay;
 Where gathering also filth him to infest,
 Forst with the filth his eggs to fling away:
 For which when as the Foule was wroth, said Jove, 55
 "Lo! how the least the greatest may reprove."

5.

Toward the sea, turning my troubled eye,
 I saw the fish (if fish I may it cleepe)
 That makes the sea before his face to flye,

^e a little Bird, cal'd Tedula.] I suppose he means the little bird *Trochila*; which, Gefner informs us, is a small sea-bird that picks her meat out of the teeth of the crocodile, which, being thus eased, never molests her. Barnabie Rich, condemning the covetous and their supporters, makes the following allusion to this bird, "Faults and nothing but Faults," 1606, fol. 11. b. "And how many have we that be of the *Trochiles* kinde, that doe cleanse the jawes of these devouring Serpents that eate up the meanes that the poore have to live by," &c. TODD. Robert Greene has the same allusion frequently. C.

^f the simple Scarabee.] i. e. Beetle. Lat. *scarabæus*. TODD.

4 *VISIONS OF THE WORLDS VANITIE.*

And with his flaggie finnes doth seeme to sweepe 60
 The fomie waves out of the dreadfull deep,
 The huge Leviathan, dame Natures wonder,
 Making his sport, that manie makes to weep :
 A sword-fish small him from the rest did funder,
 That, in his throat him pricking softly under, 65
 His wide Abyffe him forced forth to spewe,
 That all the sea did roare like heavens thunder,
 And all the waves were stain'd with filthy hewe.
 Hereby I learned have, not to despise
 Whatever thing seemes small in common eyes. 70

6.

An hideous Dragon, dreadfull to behold,
 Whose backe was arm'd against the dint of speare
 With shields of brasfe that shone like burnisht golde,
 And forkhed sting that death in it did beare,
 Strove with a Spider, his unequall peare, 75
 And bad defiance to his enemye :
 The subtile vermin, creeping closely neare,
 Did in his drinke shed poyson privilie ;
 Which, through his entrailles spreading diversly,
 Made him to swell, that nigh his bowells brust,^s 80
 And him enforced to yeeld the victorie,
 That did so much in his owne greatnesse trust.
 O ! how great vainnesse is it then to scorne
 The weake, that hath the strong so oft forlorne !

7.

High on a hill a goodly Cedar grewe, 85
 Of wondrous length and streight proportion,

^s *his bowells brust.*] Spenser's accustomed mode of spelling *burst*, agreeably to the practice of our old writers. See the note on *brust*, F. Q. iii. i. 48 [vol. ii. p. 354]. Some modern editions read *burst*. TODD. If Todd had looked at the old folio 1611, he would have seen that it is not only "modern editions" that read *burst*. The rhyme, as in the passage referred to in F. Q., requires "*brust*," and it is "*brust*" in the oldest impression, the 4to. 1591. C.

That farre abroad her daintie odours threwe :
 Mongst all the daughters of proud Libanon,
 Her match in beautie was not anie one.
 Shortly within her inmost pith there bred 90
 A little wicked worme, perceiv'd of none,
 That on her sap and vitall moysture fed :
 Thenceforth her garland, so much honoured,
 Began to die, (O, great ruth for the same !)
 And her faire lockes fell from her loftie head, 95
 That shortly balde and bared she became.
 I, which this sight beheld, was much dismayed
 To see so goodly thing so soone decayed.

8.

Soone after this I saw an Elephant,
 Adorn'd with bells and bosses gorgeouſſie, 100
 That on his backe did beare (as batteilant)^h
 A gilden towre, which shone exceedinglie ;
 That he himselfe, through foolish vanitie,
 Both for his rich attire and goodly forme,
 Was puffed up with passing surquedrie, 105
 And shortly gan all other beasts to scorne.
 Till that a little Ant, a filly worme,
 Into his nostrils creeping, so him pained
 That, casting down his towres, he did deforme
 Both borrowed pride, and natures beautie stained.ⁱ 110
 Let therefore nought that great is therein glorie,
 Sith so small thing his happines may varie.

9.

Looking far forth into the Ocean wide,
 A goodly ship with banners bravely dight,

^h *as batteilant.*] The meaning is evident; but Spenser is the only author we have met with who uses this derivative from *battail*, which our dictionaries treat as a word distinct from *battle*—perhaps rightly. C.

ⁱ *and natures beautie stained.*] So the first impression; and there can be no reason whatever for changing “natures” to *native*, as was done by Todd, who here followed the corruption of the folio 1611. C.

6 VISIONS OF THE WORLDS VANITIE.

And flag in her top-gallant, I espide 115
 Through the maine sea making her merry flight :
 Faire blew the winde into her bosome right,
 And th' heavens looked lovely all the while,
 That she did seeme to daunce, as in delight,
 And at her owne felicitie did smile. 120
 All sodainely there clove unto her keele
 A little fish,^k that men call Remora,
 Which stopt her course, and held her by the heele,
 That winde nor tide could move her thence away.
 Straunge thing, me seemeth, that so small a thing 125
 Should able be so great an one to wring.

IO.

A mighty Lyon, Lord of all the wood,
 Having his hunger throughly satisfide
 With pray of beasts and spoyle of living blood,
 Safe in his dreadles den him thought to hide : 130
 His sterneffe was his prayse, his strength his pride,
 And all his glory in his cruell clawes.
 I saw a wasp, that fiercely him defide,
 And bad him battaile even to his jawes ;
 Sore he him stong, that it the blood forth drawes, 135
 And his proude heart is fild with fretting ire :
 In vaine he threats his teeth, his tayle, his pawes,
 And from his bloodie eyes doth sparkle fire ;
 That dead himselfe he wisheth for despight.
 So weakest may anoy the most of might. 140

^k *A little fish, &c.*] The *Remora* or *Sucker*; called by Oppian
 'Εχευρίς, *navem retinens*. It is a small fish of the Eel-kind; which,
 according to vulgar report, can stop the largest ship under sail, by
 sticking underneath the keel. See "Catalogue of Oppian's Fishes."
 TODD. The superstition is perpetually alluded to by English authors,
 and thus also by Lucan:—

" — — puppim retinens Euro tendente rudentes
 " In mediis echineis aquis." Phars. Lib. vi. 674. C.

11.

What time the Romaine Empire bore the raine
 Of all the world, and florisht most in might,
 The nations gan their soveraigntie disdaine,
 And cast to quitt them from their bondage quight :
 So, when all shrouded were in silent night, 145
 The Galles were, by corrupting of a mayde,
 Possess'd nigh of the Capitol through flight,
 Had not a Goose the treachery bewrayde.
 If then a Goose great Rome from ruine stayde,
 And Jove himselfe, the patron of the place, 150
 Preserv'd from being to his foes betrayde,
 Why do vaine men mean things so much deface,
 And in their might repose their most assurance,
 Sith nought on earth can challenge long endurance ?

12.

When these sad fights were overpast and gone, 155
 My spright was greatly moved in her rest,
 With inward ruth and deare affection,
 To see so great things by so small distrest :
 Thenceforth I gan in my engrieved brest
 To scorne all difference of great and small, 160
 Sith that the greatest often are oppress'd,
 And unawares doe into daunger fall.
 And ye, that read these ruines tragicall,
 Learne by their losse to love the low degree ;
 And, if that fortune chaunce you up to call 165
 To honours feat, forget not what you be :
 For he, that of himselfe is most secure,
 Shall finde his state most fickle and unsure.



THE VISIONS OF BELLAY.

I.



T was the time,^a when rest, soft sliding
 downe
 From heavens hight into mens heavy
 eyes,
 In the forgetfulnes of sleepe doth drowne
 The carefull thoughts of mortall miseries ;
 Then did a Ghost before mine eyes appeare,
 On that great rivers banck that runnes by Rome,
 Which, calling me by name, bad me to reare
 My lookes to heaven whence all good gifts do come,
 And crying lowd, lo ! now beholde (quoth hee)
 What under this great temple placed is :
 Lo ! all is nought but flying vanitee !
 So I, that know this worlds inconstancies,

5

10

^a *It was the time, &c.*] It is to be remarked, that most of these "Visions," and the "Visions of Petrarch" which follow, appeared, with some differences indeed from the present copies, both in regard to the nature of the verse, to a few expressions, and to the arrangement of them, in "A Theatre for Worldlings, &c. 12mo. 1569." At the close of the "Visions of Petrarch," I will subjoin the *early* "Visions." Spenser's own edition notices that the "Visions of Petrarch" were *formerly translated*. He does not say by whom. The translator might be himself. He was, in 1569, entered a member of the University of Cambridge. Todd. When originally printed the Visions were accompanied by illustrative wood-cuts. C.

Sith onely God furmounts all times decay,
In God alone my confidence do stay.

2.

On high hills top I saw a stately frame, 15
An hundred cubits high by just affize,
With hundredth pillours fronting faire the same,
All wrought with diamond after Dorick wize :
Nor brick nor marble was the wall in view,
But shining Christall, which from top to base 20
Out of her womb a thousand rayons threw,^b
One hundred steps of Afrike golds enchase :
Golde was the parget ;^c and the feeling bright
Did shine all scaly with great plates of golde ;
The floore of Jasp^d and Emeraude was dight. 25
O worlds vaineſſe ! Whiles thus I did behold,
An earthquake shooke the hill from lowest feat,
And overthrew this frame with ruine great.

3.

Then did a sharped spyre of Diamond bright,
Ten feete each way in square, appeare to mee, 30
Justly proportion'd up unto his hight,
So far as Archer might his level see :
The top thereof a pot did seeme to beare,
Made of the mettall which we most do honour ;
And in this golden vessell couched weare 35
The ashes of a mightie Emperour :
Upon foure corners of the base were pight,^e

^b *a thousand rayons threw.*] Beams or rays. Fr. *rayon*. TODD.

^c *Golde was the parget.*] The *varnish* or *plaster*. See Cotgrave, in V. *Parget*. And also the verb, "to new-*parget* a wall," *ibid*. It is often used, as Mr. Steevens has remarked, by B. Jonson. TODD. It seems originally to have been spelt "*pariet*," which afterwards became *parjet* and *parget*. Lat. *paries*. C.

^d *The floore of Jasp*] *Jasper stone*. Fr. *jaspe*. TODD.

^e *of the base were pight.*] Of the base were *placed* or *fixed*. See vol. iii. p. 306, and many other places. C.

To beare the frame, foure great Lyons of gold ;
 A worthy tombe for such a worthy wight.
 Alas ! this world doth nought but grievance hold. 40
 I saw a tempest from the heaven descend,
 Which this brave monument with flash did rend.

4.

I saw rayfde up on yvorie pillowes tall,^f
 Whose bases were of richest mettalls warke,
 The chapters Alabafter, the fryses christall, 45
 The double front of a triumphall Arke :
 On each side purtraid was a Victorie,
 Clad like a Nimph, that winges of silver weares,
 And in triumphant chayre was set on hie,
 The auncient glory of the Romaine Peares. 50
 No worke it seem'd of earthly craftsmans wit,
 But rather wrought by his owne industry,
 That thunder-dartes for Jove his fyre doth fit.
 Let me no more see faire thing under sky,
 Sith that mine eyes have seene so faire a fight 55
 With sodain fall to dust consumed quight.

5.

Then was the faire Dodonian tree far seene,
 Upon seaven hills to spread his gladsome gleame,
 And conquerours bedecked with his greene,
 Along the bancks of the Ausonian streame : 60
 There many an auncient Trophée was addrest,
 And many a spoyle, and many a goodly shew,
 Which that brave races greatnes did attest,
 That whilome from the Trojan blood did flow.
 Ravisht I was so rare a thing to vew ; 65
 When lo ! a barbarous troupe of clownish fone
 The honour of these noble boughs down threw :

^f on yvorie pillowes tall.] It was *pillers* in 1569 : the corruption was subsequently introduced. C.

Under the wedge I heard the tronck to grone ;
 And, since, I saw the roote in great disdaine
 A twinne of forked trees send forth againe. 70

6.

I saw a Wolfe under a rockie cave
 Nourfing two whelpes ; I saw her litle ones
 In wanton dalliance the teate to crave,
 While she her neck wreath'd from them for the nones :^g
 I saw her raunge abroad to seeke her food, 75
 And roming through the field with greedie rage
 T' embrew her teeth and clawes with lukewarm blood
 Of the small heards, her thirst for to assuage.
 I saw a thousand huntsmen, which descended
 Downe from the mountaines bordring Lombardie, 80
 That with an hundred speares her flank wide rended :
 I saw her on the plaine outstretched lie,
 Throwing out thousand throbs in her owne foyle ;
 Soone on a tree uphang'd I saw her spoyle.

7.

I saw the Bird that can the Sun endure 85
 With feeble wings assay to mount on hight ;
 By more and more she gan her wings t' assure,
 Following th' enfample of her mothers fight :
 I saw her rise, and with a larger flight
 To pierce the cloudes, and with wide pinneons 90
 To measure the most haughtie mountaines hight,
 Untill she raught^h the Gods owne mansions :
 There was she lost ; when suddaine I behelde,
 Where, tumbling through the ayre in firie fold,ⁱ

^g *for the nones.*] For the *occasion, for the once.* See the note, F. Q. v. xi. 14 ; vol. iv. p. 6. C.

^h *Untill she raught.*] *Reached*, the old and legitimate preter-perfect, as it should seem, of *reach* ; as *taught* is of *teach*, &c. TODD.

ⁱ *in firie fold.*] This may not mean *wrapped*, as it were, in fire ; but in fiery *lightning*, from the French. C.

All flaming downe she on the plaine was felde, 95
And soone her bodie turn'd to ashes colde.

I saw the foule, that doth the light despise,
Out of her dust like to a worme arise.

8.

I saw a river swift, whose fomy billowes
Did wash the ground work of an old great wall; 100
I saw it cover'd all with griesly shadowes,^k
That with black horror did the ayre appall:
Thereout a strange beast with seven heads arose,
That townes and castles under her brest did coure,
And seem'd both milder beasts and fiercer foes 105
Alike with equall ravine to devoure.

Much was I mazde to see this monsters kinde
In hundred formes to change his fearefull hew;
When as at length I saw the wrathfull winde,
Which blows cold storms, burst out of Scithian mew, 110
That sperst these cloudes; and, in so short as thought,
This dreadfull shape was vanished to nought.

9.

Then all astoined¹ with this mighty ghoast,
An hideous bodie big and strong I sawe,
With side long beard, and locks down hanging loast, 115
Sterne face, and front full of Saturnlike awe;
Who, leaning on the belly of a pot,
Pourd foorth a water, whose out gushing flood
Ran bathing all the creakie shore afloat,
Whereon the Troyan prince spilt Turnus blood; 120
And at his feete a bitch wolfe suck did yeeld

^k *with griesly shadowes.*] So the old copies; but Todd printed "with *grieffy* shadowes"—perhaps, a mere error of the prefs. C.

¹ *Then all astoined.*] So the edition of 1591; but we may reasonably doubt whether "astoined" be not a misprint, by the misplacing of a letter, for *astonied*, which, in the sense of *astonished*, occurs in many writers. It is *astonied* in the folio 1611. Nevertheless both "astoynyd" and *stoynyd* occur in Phaer's translation of the "Eneidos," 1558, Book iii. Twine, in 1584, absurdly altered "astoynyd" to *I stoined*. C.

To two young babes : his left the Palme tree stout,
His right hand did the peacefull Olive wield,
And head with Lawrell garnisht was about.

Sudden both Palme and Olive fell away, 125
And faire greene Lawrell branch did quite decay.

10.

Hard by a rivers side a virgin faire,
Folding her armes to heaven with thousand throbs,
And outraging her cheekes and golden haire,
To falling rivers found thus tun'd her fobs. 130

"Where is (quoth she) this whilom honoured face?

Where the great glorie and the auncient praise,

In which all worlds felicitie had place,

When gods and men my honour up did raise?

Suffis'd it not that civill warres me made 135

The whole worlds spoile, but that this Hydra new,

Of hundred Hercules to be affaide,

With seven heads, budding monstrous crimes anew,

So many Neroes and Caligulaes

Out of these crooked shores must dayly rayse?" 140

11.

Upon an hill a bright flame I did see

Waving aloft with triple point to skie,

Which, like incense of precious Cedar tree,

With balmie odours 'fil'd th' ayre farre and nie.

A Bird all white, well feathered on each wing, 145

Hereout up to the throne of Gods did flie,

And all the way most pleasant notes did sing,

Whilst in the smoake she unto heaven did flie.^m

Of this faire fire the scattered rayes forth threw

On everie side a thousand shining beames; 150

When sudden dropping of a silver dew

(O grievous chancee!) gan quench those precious flames,

^m *she unto heaven did flie.*] Did ascend. See vol. i. p. 161, &c. C.

That it, which earst so pleasant sent did yeld,
Of nothing now but noyous sulphure smeld.

12.

I saw a spring out of a rocke forth rayle, 155
As cleare as Christall gainst the Sunnie beames,
The bottome yeallow, like the golden grayleⁿ
That bright Pactolus washeth with his streames;
It seem'd that Art and Nature had assembled
All pleasure there, for which mans hart could long; 160
And there a noyse alluring sleepe soft trembled,
Of manie accords more sweete than Mermaids song:
The feates and benches shone as yvorie,
And hundred Nymphes fate side by side about;
When from nigh hills, with hideous outcrie, 165
A troop of Satyres in the place did rout,
Which with their villeine feete the streame did ray,^o
Threw down the feats, and drove the Nymphs away.

13.

Much richer then that vessell seem'd to bee,
Which did to that sad Florentine appeare, 170
Casting mine eyes farre off, I chaunst to see
Upon the Latine Coast herselfe to reare:
But suddenly arose a tempest great,
Bearing close envie to these riches rare,
Which gan assaile this ship with dreadfull threat, 175
This ship to which none other might compare;
And finally the storme impetuous
Sunke up these riches, second unto none,
Within the gulfe of greedie Nereus.
I saw both ship and mariners each one, 180
And all that treasure drowned in the maine:
But I the ship saw after raisd againe.

ⁿ *like the golden grayle.*] Golden gravel, as in F. Q. i. vii. 6 [vol. i. p. 284]; v. ix. 19 [vol. iii. p. 449]. TODD.

^o *the streame did ray.*] The streame did *beray*, or *make dirty*, as in vol. ii. p. 100. C.

14.

Long having deeply gron'd these visions fad,
 I saw a Citie, like unto that fame
 Which saw the messenger of tidings glad, 185
 But that on sand was built the goodly frame :
 It seem'd her top the firmament did rayse,
 And no lesse rich than faire, right worthie sure
 (If ought here worthie) of immortall dayes,
 Or if ought under heaven might firme endure. 190
 Much wondred I to see so faire a wall ;
 When from the Northerne coast a storme arose,
 Which breathing furie from his inward gall
 On all which did against his course oppose,
 Into a clowde of dust sperst in the aire 195
 The weake foundations of this Citie faire.

15.

At length, even at the time when Morpheus
 Most trulie doth unto our eyes appeare,
 Wearie to see the heavens still wavering thus,
 I saw Typhœus sister comming neare ; 200
 Whose head, full bravely with a morion hidd,^p
 Did seeme to match the Gods in Majestie :
 She, by a rivers bancke that swift downe flidd,
 Over all the world did raise a Trophée hie ;
 An hundred vanquisht Kings under her lay, 205
 With armes bound at their backs in shamefull wize.
 Whilst I thus mazed was with great affray,
 I saw the heavens in warre against her rize ;
 Then downe she stricken fell with clap of thonder,
 That with great noyse I wakte in suddén wonder. 210

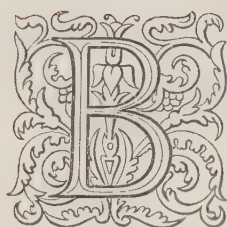
^p with a morion hidd.] Head-piece, Fr. *morion*. See also F. Q. vii. vii. 28 [vol. iv. p. 272]. In Strype's "Life of Archbishop Parker" there is an account of the arms to be supplied in 1569 by the Clergy, among which is mentioned the "MORION or *salet*," p. 274. TODD. Richardson says from A. S. *myrran*, to repel. C.



THE VISIONS OF PETRARCH.

FORMERLY TRANSLATED.

1.



EING one day at my window all alone,
So manie strange things happened me
to see,
As much it grieveth me to thinke thereon.
At my right hand a Hynde appear'd to
mee,

So faire as mote the greatest God delite ;
Two eager dogs did her pursue in chace,
Of which the one was blacke, the other white :
With deadly force so in their cruell race
They pincht the haunches of that gentle beast,
That at the last, and in short time, I spide,
Under a Rocke, where she alas ! opprest,
Fell to the ground, and there untimely dide.
Cruell death vanquishing so noble beautie,
Oft makes me wayle so hard a destenie.

5

10

2.

After, at sea a tall ship did appeare,
Made all of Heben and white Yvorie ;
The failes of golde, of filke the tackle were :
Milde was the winde, calme seem'd the sea to bee,
The skie eachwhere did show full bright and faire :

15

THE VISIONS OF PETRARCH.

17

With rich treasures this gay ship freighted was ; 20
 But sudden storme did so turmoyle the aire,
 And tumbled up the sea, that she (alas !)
 Strake on a rock, that under water lay,
 And perished past all recoverie.
 O ! how great ruth, and sorrowfull affay, 25
 Doth vex my spirite with perplexitie,
 Thus in a moment to see lost, and drown'd,
 So great riches, as like cannot be found.^a

3.

The heavenly branches did I see arise
 Out of the fresh and lustie Lawrell tree, 30
 Amidst the yong greene wood : of Paradise^h
 Some noble plant I thought my selfe to see.
 Such store of birds therein ythrowded were,
 Chaunting in shade their fundrie melodie,
 That with their sweetnes I was ravisht nere. 35
 While on this Lawrell fixed was mine eie,
 The skie gan everie where to overcast,
 And darkned was the welkin all about,
 When sudden flash of heavens fire out braft,
 And rent this royall tree quite by the roote ; 40
 Which makes me much and ever to complaine,
 For no such shadow shalbe had againe.

4.

Within this wood, out of a rocke did rise
 A spring of water, mildly rumbling downe,

^a *like cannot be found.*] Compare this sonnet with Sonnet 13 of "The Visions of Bellay." C.

^b *Amidst the yong greene wood : of Paradise.*] We have very rarely made notes upon punctuation, but here modern editions are evidently so corrupt that we go out of our way to mention it. It has been usual to put a colon after "Paradise," as if the line were to be read on "Amidst the yong greene wood of Paradise:" but the meaning of the poet, as well as the old pointing, clearly carries on the sense—

"of Paradise

Some noble plant I thought my selfe to see." C.

Whereto approched not in anie wife 45
 The homely shepheard, nor the ruder clowne ;
 But manie Muses, and the Nymphes withall,
 That sweetly in accord did tune their voyce
 To the soft founding of the waters fall ;
 That my glad hart thereat did much rejoyce : 50
 But, while herein I tooke my chiefe delight,
 I saw (alas !) the gaping earth devoure
 The spring, the place, and all cleane out of fight :
 Which yet aggreeves my hart even to this houre,
 And wounds my soule with rufull memorie, 55
 To see such pleasures gon so suddenly.

5.

I saw a Phoenix in the wood alone,
 With purple wings, and crest of golden hewe :
 Strange bird he was, whereby I thought anone,
 That of some heavenly wight I had the vewe ; 60
 Untill he came unto the broken tree,
 And to the spring that late devoured was.
 What say I more ? each thing at last we see
 Doth passe away : the Phoenix there, alas !
 Spying the tree destroid, the water dride, 65
 Himselfe smote with his beake, as in disdaine,
 And so foorthwith in great despight he dide ;
 That yet my heart burnes, in exceeding paine,
 For ruth and pitie of so haples plight :
 O, let mine eyes no more see such a fight ! 70

6.

At last so faire a Ladie did I spie,
 That thinking yet on her I burne and quake.
 On hearbs and flowres she walked pensively,
 Milde, but yet love she proudly did forsake :
 White seem'd her robes, yet woven so they were, 75
 As snow and golde together had been wrought ;
 Above the waft a darke cloude shrouded her.

A stinging Serpent by the heele her caught,
 Wherewith she languisht as the gathered floure;
 And, well assur'd, she mounted up to joy. 80
 Alas! on earth so nothing doth endure,
 But bitter grieve and sorrowfull annoy,
 Which make this life wretched and miserable,
 Tossed with stormes of fortune variable.

7.

When I beheld this tickle trustles state 85
 Of vaine worlds glorie, flitting too and fro,
 And mortall men tossed by troublous fate
 In restles seas of wretchednes and woe,
 I wish I might this weary life forgoe,
 And shortly turne unto my happie rest, 90
 Where my free spirite might not any moe
 Be vext with fights that doo her peace molest.
 And ye, faire Ladie, in whose bounteous brest
 All heavenly grace and vertue shrined is,
 When ye these rythmes doo read, and vew the rest, 95
 Loath this base world, and thinke of heavens blis:
 And though ye be the fairest of Gods creatures,
 Yet thinke, that death shall spoyle your goodly
 features.^c

^c I have already spoken of these Emblems or Visions having appeared, in a form somewhat different, long before the publication of them by Spenfer's bookseller in 1591. Whether they are the productions of Spenfer, it is not for me absolutely to determine; but the reader must observe that, in the title of these "Visions of Petrarch," a notification is made that they were FORMERLY TRANSLATED.

The title, then, of the Book in which these Visions had appeared, is, "A Theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow the voluptuous Worldlings, As also the greates joyes and plesures which the faithfull do enjoy. An Argument both profitable and delectable to all that sincerely love the word of God. Devised by S. Iohn vander Noodt. Seene and allowed according to the order appointed. Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman, Anno Domini 1569." 12mo. Then follow two pages of Latin verses—"In commendationem operis ab Nobiliss. et virtutis studiosissimo Domino, Ioanne vander Noodt, Patricio Antuerpiensi, æditi Carmen;" and

"Doctor Gerardus Gooffenius, Medicus, Physicus, et Poeta Brabant moder. in Zoilum Octastichon." And a Dedication to Q. Elizabeth, dated "At London, your Majesties Citie and seate royal, the 25. of May, 1569;" and signed, "Your Majesties most humble servant *Iean vander Noodt.*"^a

Then follow the poems; viz. Spenser's fix "Visions of Petrarch," with four additional lines at the end. And these fix are called "Epigrams." Then the remaining poems, all entitled "Sonets;" with wooden cuts descriptive of the subject of the poems.

Then the prose commences, consisting of 107 leaves, entitled "A briefe declaration of the Authour upon his *Visions*, taken out of the holy scriptures, and dyvers Orators, Poetes, Philosophers, and true histories. Translated out of French into English by Theodore Roest." bl. 1. The following is an extract. "And to sette the vanitie and inconstancie of worldly and transitorie thyngs the livelier before your eyes, I have broughte in here *twentie sightes or vyssions, and caused them to be grauen*, to the ende al men may see that with their eyes, whiche I go aboute to expresse by writing, to the delight and plesure of the eye and eares, according unto the saying of Horace,—

'Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.'

That is to say,—

'He that teacheth pleasantly and well,

Doth in eche poynt all others excell.'

Of which oure visions the learned Poete M. Francisce Petrarche, Gentleman of Florence, did invente and write in Tuscan *the six firste*, after suche tyme as hee had loved honestly the space of xxi yeares a faire, gracious, and a noble Damosell, named Laurette, or (as it plesed him best) Laura, borne of Avinion, who afterward hapned to die, he being in Italy, for whose death (to shewe his great grief) he mourned ten years togyther; and, amongest many of his songs and sorrowfull lamentations, devised and made a Ballade or song, contayning *the sayd visions; which*, bicause they serve wel to our purpose, *I have, out of the Brabants speache, turned them into the Englishe tongue.*" fol. 13.

"The *other ten visions* next ensuing, ar described of one Ioachim du Bellay, Gentleman of France; *the whiche* also, bicause they serve to our purpose, *I have translated them out of Dutch into Englishe.*" fol. 14.

I now present the reader with these Visions, the more remarkable in the following translation as being principally in blank verse. Spenser, I have before remarked, was, at the time when the aforesaid book was published, viz. in 1569, a member of the Univerfity of Cambridge.

1.

IT was the time when rest, the gift of Gods,
Sweetely sliding into the eyes of men,

^a *Iean vander Noodt.*] We have supplied various particulars, and some passages which Todd omitted either by design or inadvertence; and we have collated the poems which follow with the originals, and have corrected the whole in more than fifty places. C.

Doth drowne in the forgetfulnesse of flepe
 The carefull travailes of the painefull day :
 Then did a ghost appeare before mine eyes,
 On that great rivers bank that runnes by Rome ;
 And, calling me then by my propre name,
 He bade me upwarde unto heaven looke :
 He cride to me ; and, loe, (quod he) beholde
 What under this great Temple is containde ;
 Loe, all is nought but flying vanitie.
 So I, knowing the worldes unstedfastnesse,
 Sith onely God surmountes the force of tyme,
 In God alone do stay my confidence.

2.

ON hill a frame an hundred cubites hie
 I sawe, an hundred pillers eke about,
 All of fine diamant decking the front,
 And fashiond were they all in Dorike wise.
 Of bricke, ne yet of marble was the wall,
 But shining christall, which from top to base
 Out of deepe vaute threw forth a thousand rayes
 Upon an hundred steps of purest golde :
 Golde was the parget ; and the shelyng eke
 Did shine all scaly with fine golden plates :
 The floore was Jaspis, and of Emeraude.
 O worldes vainenesse ! A sodein earthquake, loe,
 Shaking the hill even from the bottome deepe,
 Threw downe this building to the lowest stone.

3.

THEN did appeare to me a sharped spire
 Of diamant, ten fete eche way in square,
 Justly proportionde up unto his height,
 So hie as mought an archer reache with fight.
 Upon the top thereof was set a pot,
 Made of the mettall that we honour most ;
 And in this golden vessell couched were
 The ashes of a mightie Emperour.
 Upon foure corners of the base there lay,
 To beare the frame, foure great Lions of golde
 A worthie tombe for such a worthie corps.
 Alas, nought in this world but grieve endures :
 A sudden tempest from the heaven, I saw,
 With flashe stroke downe this noble monument.

4.

I SAW raifde up on pillers of Ivorie,
 Whereof the bases were of richest golde,
 The chapters Alabafter, Christall frises,
 The double front of a triumphall arke.
 On eche side portraide was a victorie,
 With golden wings, in habite of a Nymph,

And set on hie, upon triumphing chaire,
 The auncient glorie of the Romane lordes.
 The worke did shew it selfe not wrought by man,
 But rather made by his owne skilfull hande
 That forgeth thunder dartes for Jove his fire.
 Let me no more see faire thing under heauen,
 Sith I have seene so faire a thing as this,
 With sodaine falling broken all to dust.

5.
 THEN I behelde the faire Dodonian tree
 Upon seven hilles throw forth his gladfome shade,
 And conquerers bedecked with his leaves,
 Along the bankes of the Italian streame.
 There many auncient Trophees were erect,
 Many a spoile, and many goodly signes
 To shewe the greatnesse of the stately race
 That erst descended from the Trojan bloud.
 Ravisht I was to see so rare a thing,
 When barbarous villaines, in disordred heape,
 Outraged the honour of these noble bowes :
 I heard the tronke to grone under the wedge,
 And, since, I saw the roote in hie disdain
 Sende forth againe a twinne of forked trees.

6.
 I SAW the birde that dares beholde the Sunne
 With feeble flight venture to mount to heauen,
 By more and more she gan to trust hir wings,
 Still following th' example of hir damme :
 I saw hir rise, and with a larger flight
 Surmount the toppes even of the hieft hilles,
 And pierce the cloudes, and with hir wings to reach
 The place where is the temple of the Gods ;
 There was she lost, and sodenly I saw
 Where tombling through the aire in lompe of fire,
 All flaming, downe she fell upon the plaine.
 I saw hir bodie turned all to dust,
 And saw the foule that shunnes the cherefull light
 Out of hir ashes as a worme arise.

7.
 THEN all astonned with this nightly ghost,
 I saw an hideous body big and strong ;
 Long was his bearde, and side did hang his hair,
 A grisly forehed and Saturnlike face.
 Leaning against the belly of a pot,
 He shed a water, whose outgushing streame
 Ran flowing all along the creeke shoare,
 Where once the Troyan Duke with Turnus fought.
 And at his feete a bitch wolfe did give sucke
 To two yong babes. In his right hand he bare

The Tree of peace, in left the conquering Palme;
 His head was garnisht with the Laurel bow.
 Then sodenly the Palme and Olive fell,
 And faire greene Laurel witherd up and dide.

8.

HARD by a rivers side a wailing Nimphe,
 Folding hir armes with thousand sighs to heave,
 Did tune her plaint to falling rivers found,
 Renting hir faire visage and golden haire.
 Where is (quod she) this whilome honored face?
 Where is thy glory and the auncient praise
 Where all worldes hap was reposed,
 When erst of Gods and man I worshipt was?
 Alas, suffisde it not that civile bate
 Made me the spoile and bootie of the world,
 But this new Hydra, mete to be assailde
 Even by an hundred such as Hercules,
 With seven springing heds of monstrous crimes,
 So many Neroes and Caligulaes
 Must still bring forth to rule this croked shore.

9.

UPON a hill I saw a kindled flame,
 Mounting like waves with triple point to heaven,
 Which of incense of precious Ceder tree,
 With Balme-like odor did perfume the aire.
 A bird all white, well fetherd on her winges
 Hereout did flie up to the throne of Gods,
 And singing with most plesant melodie
 She climbed up to heaven in the smoke.
 Of this faire fire the faire disperfed rays
 Threw forth abroad a thousand shining leames,
 When sodain dropping of a golden shoure
 Gan quench the glysterning flame. O grevous chaunge!
 That, which erstwhile so pleasaunt scent did yelde,
 Of Sulphure now did breathe corrupted smel.

10.

I SAW a fresh spring rise out of a rocke,
 Clere as Christall against the sunny beames,
 The bottome yellow, like the shining land
 That golden Pactol drives upon the plaine.
 It seemed that arte and nature strived to joyne
 There in one place all pleasures of the eye:
 There was to heare a noise alluring slepe
 Of many accordes, more swete than Mermaids songs.
 The seates and benches shone as Ivorie,
 An hundred Nymphes fate side by side about,
 When from nie hilles a naked rout of Faunes
 With hideous cry assembled on the place,
 Which with their feete uncleane the water fouled,
 Threw down the seates & droue the Nimphs to flight.

II.

AT length, even at the time when Morpheus
 Most truly doth appeare unto our eyes,
 Wearie to see th' inconstance of the heavens,
 I saw the great Typhæus sifter come,
 Hir head full bravely with a morian armed;
 In majestie she seemde to matche the Gods:
 And on the shore, harde by a violent streame,
 She raide a Trophée ovêr all the worlde:
 An hundred vanquisht kings gronde at her feete,
 Their armes in shamefull wise bounde at their backes.
 While I was with so dreadfull fight afrayde,
 I saw the heavens warre against her tho,
 And seing hir striken fall with clap of thunder,
 With so great noyse I start in fodaine wonder.

It must here be observed that the sixth, eighth, thirteenth, and fourteenth "Visions of Bellay," which are in Spenſer's translation as published in 1591, are not in the "Theatre for Worldlings;" but four others are substituted, of which the writer thus speaks: "And, to the ende we myght speake more at large of the thing, I have taken *four* visions out of the revelation of S. John, where as the Holy Ghost by S. John setteth him (Antichrist) out in his colours." Fol. 20.

As the book is not often to be met with, and as the subject is so much connected with Spenſer's poetry, the reader might be displeased if I withheld the four different Visions from his perusal.

I.

I SAW an ugly beaſt come from the ſea,
 That ſeven heads, ten crounes, ten hornes did beare,
 Having thereon the vile blaſpheming name.
 The cruell Leopard ſhe reſembled much:
 Feete of a beare, a Lions throte ſhe had.
 The mightie Dragon gave to hir his power.
 One of hir heads yet there I did eſpie,
 Still freſhly bleeding of a grievous wounde.
 One cride aloud; What one is like (quod he)
 This honoured Dragon, or may him withſtande?
 And then came from the ſea a ſavage beaſt,
 With Dragons ſpeche, and ſhewde his force by fire,
 With wondrous ſignes to make all wights adore
 The beaſt, in ſetting of hir image up.

2.

I SAW a Woman ſitting on a beaſt,
 Before mine eyes, of Orenge colour hew;
 Horroure and dreadfull name of blaſphemie
 Filde her with pride: And ſeven heads I ſaw;
 Ten hornes alſo the ſtately beaſt did beare.
 She ſeemde with glorie of the ſcarlet faire,
 And with fine perle and golde puſt up in heart:
 The wine of hooredome in a cup ſhe bare;

The name of Myfterie writ in her face ;
 The bloud of Martyrs dere were hir delite.
 Moft fierce and fell this Woman seemde to me :
 An Angell then, descending downe from Heaven,
 With thondring voice cride out aloude, and fayd,
 Now for a truth great Babylon is fallen.

3.

THEN might I fee upon a white horfe fet
 The faithfull man with flaming countenaunce ;
 His head did shine with crounes fet therupon :
 The worde of God made him a noble name.
 His precious robe I faw embrued with bloud :
 Then faw I from the heaven on horfes white,
 A puiffant armie come the felfe fame way.
 Then cried a fhining Angell, as me thought,
 That birdes from aire descending downe on earth
 Should warre upon the kings, and eate their flefh :
 Then did I fee the beaft and Kings alfo
 Joinyng their force to flea the faithfull man.
 But this fierce hatefull beaft, and all hir traine,
 Is pitileffe throwne downe in pit of fire.

4.

I SAW new Earth, new Heaven, fayde Saint John.
 And loe, the fea (quod he) is now no more :
 The holy Citie of the Lorde, from hye
 Descendeth garnisht as a loved fpoufe.
 A voice then fayde, beholde the bright abode
 Of God and men. For he fhall be their God,
 And all their teares he fhall wipe cleane away :
 His brightneffe greater was than can be founde.
 Square was this Citie, and twelve gates it had :
 Eche gate was of an orient perfect pearle ;
 The houfes golde, the pavement precious ftone.
 A lively ftream, more cleere than Chrifall is,
 Ranne through the mid, fprong from triumphant feat.
 There growes lifes fruite unto the Churches good.

As to the "Visions of Petrarch" in this little volume, they are very nearly the fame with Spenser's *avowed* translations ; the following being the only variations.

The FIRST is literally word for word the fame as Spenser's, except that, in the ninth line, "The Theatre" reads "*this* gentle beaft ; and Spenser, "*that* gentle beaft."

In the SECOND, "The Theatre" at the end of the line *Strake on a rock*, &c. places a full point, and then reads :

"O great misfortune, O great grieve, I fay,
 "Thus in one moment to fee loft and drownde
 "So great riches, as lyke cannot be founde."

In the THIRD, "The Theatre" reads "*a* frefh" instead of "*the* frefh ;"

and, in the seventh line, "My sprites were ravisht with these pleasures there."

The FOURTH presents the following variations in "The Theatre," viz. in the first line, "*the* rocke;" in the seventh, "*Unto* the gentle sounding of the waters fall;" in the eighth, "*The sight whereof* dyd make my heart rejoyce;" in the ninth, "But while I *toke herein*," &c. The thirteenth and fourteenth lines are not in "The Theatre."

The FIFTH contains no other difference in "The Theatre," except that, in the seventh line, "at *length*" occurs instead of "at *last*;" and that, instead of the three last lines of Spenser's avowed translation, the "Vision" closes with the following line: "For pitie and love my heart yet burnes in paine."

In the SIXTH, the only variations, which "The Theatre" exhibits, are "*in* thinking" instead of "thinking *yet*" in the second line; "*in* earth" instead of "*on* earth" in the eleventh; "But bitter grieve *that* dothe our hearts anoy," in the twelfth; and the want of the 13th and 14th lines.

Spenser's SEVENTH occurs not in "The Theatre." But to the six preceding ("Epigrams" as they are also called) are added these four lines:

"My Song thus now, in thy Conclusions,
 "Say boldly that these same *six visions*
 "Do yelde unto thy lorde a sweete request,
 "Ere it be long, within the earth to rest."

I will only add here, that the book, though entitled "A Theatre for Worldlings," consists chiefly of predictions of the ruin of Rome and fall of Antichrist; a subject particularly interesting to Spenser. TODD.

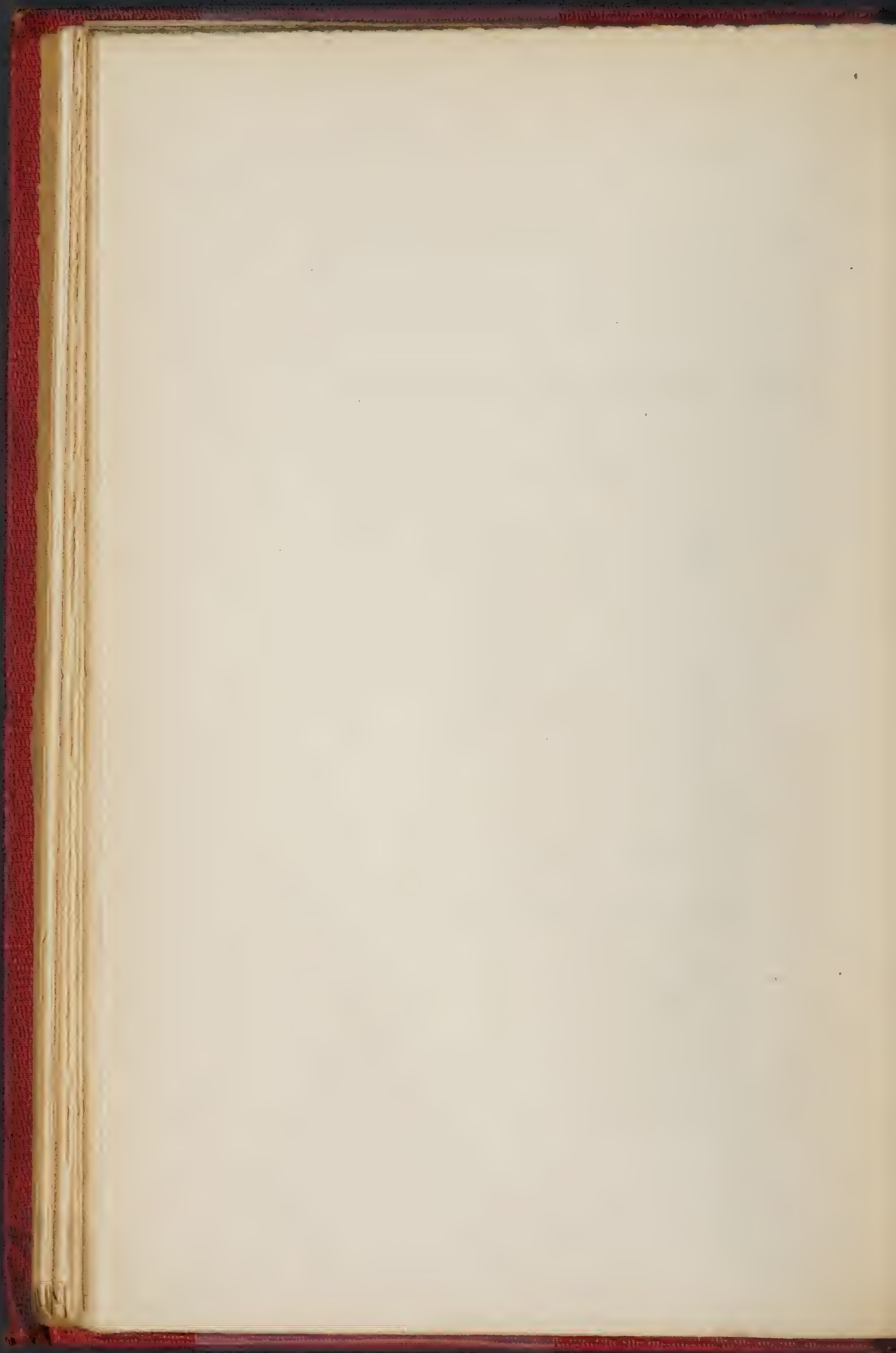
COLIN CLOUTS COME HOME
AGAIN.

BY ED. SPENCER.

LONDON

Printed for *William Ponsonbie*,

1595.



TO THE RIGHT WORTHY AND NOBLE KNIGHT

SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

*Captaine of her Majesties Guard, Lord Wardein of the Stanneries, and
Lieutenant of the Countie of Cornwall.*

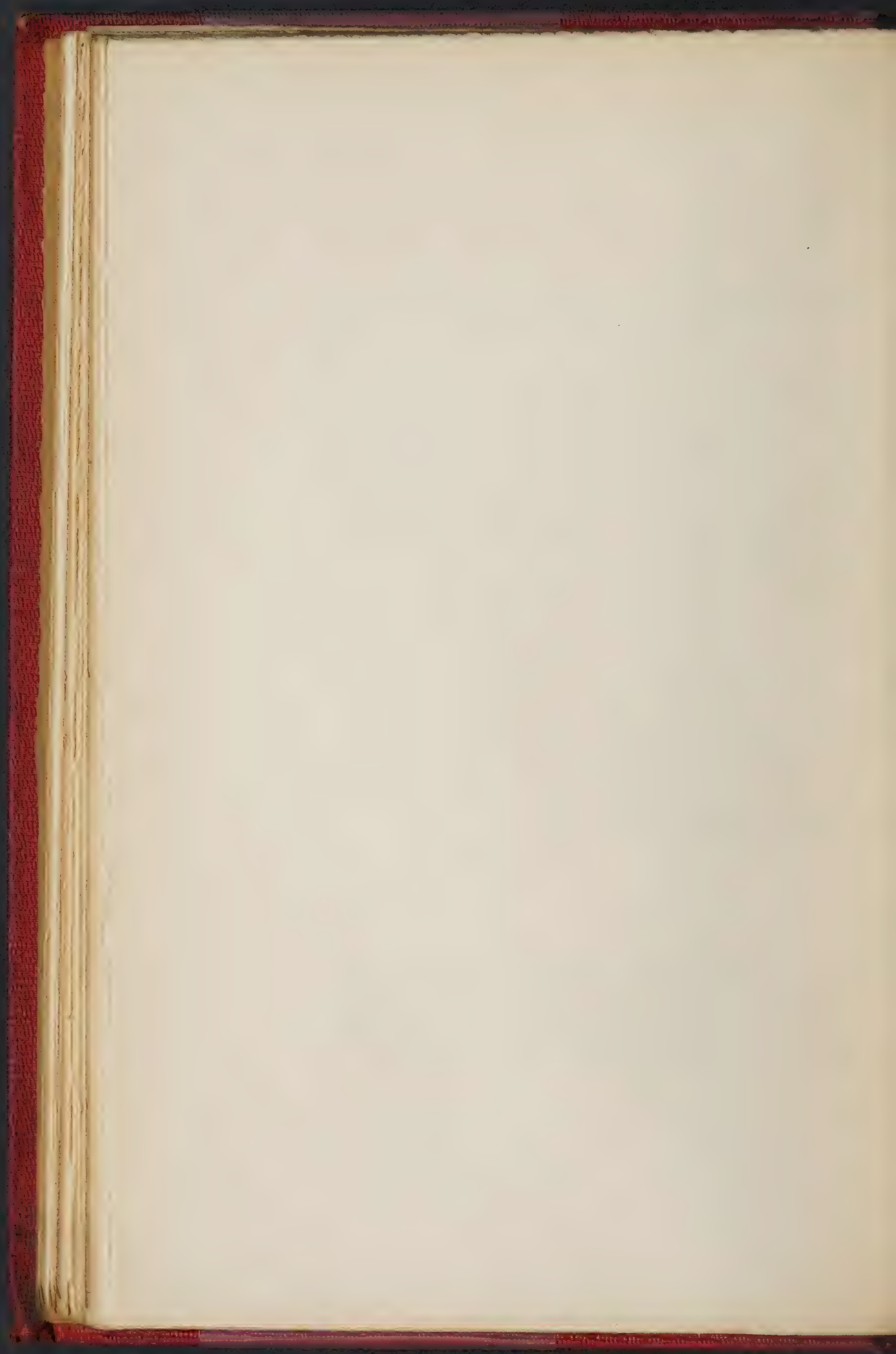
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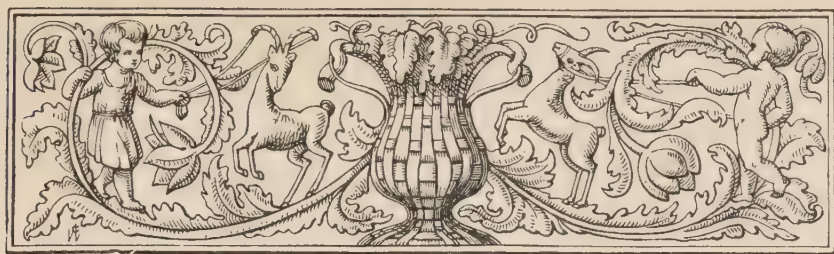
THAT you may see that I am not alwaies ydle as yee thinke, though not greatly well occupied, nor altogether undutifull, though not precisely officious, I make you present of this simple pastorall, unworthie of your higher conceipt for the meaneſſe of the ſtile, but agreeing with the truth in circumstance and matter. The which I humbly beſeech you to accept in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my ſelfe bounden unto you, for your ſingular favours, and fundrie good turnes, ſhewed to me at my late being in England; and with your good countenance protect againſt the malice of evill mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe at and miſconſtrue my ſimple meaning. I pray continually for your happineſſe. From my houſe of Kilcolman, the 27. of December. 1591.^a

Yours ever humbly.

ED. SP.

^a 27. of December. 1591]. Todd adds between brackets, "rather perhaps 1595;" but we give the date it bears in the original and in all ſubſequent early impreſſions. The point of the real time of the appearance of the poem is conſidered in the biography of the Poet. This dedication is ſubſcribed only Ed. Sp. in all editions; but on the title-page the name is ſpelt at length "Spencer," and not *Spenſer*. C.





COLIN CLOUTS COME HOME AGAIN.



HE shepherds boy (best known by that
name)^a

That after Tityrus first fung his lay,
Laies of sweet love, without rebuke or
blame,

Sate (as his custom was) upon a day,
Charming his oaten pipe^b unto his peres, 5
The shepheard fwaines that did about him play :
Who all the while, with greedie listfull eares,
Did stand astonisht at his curious skill,
Like hartlesse deare dismayd with thunders found.
At last, when as he piped had his fill, 10
He rested him ; and, sitting then around,
One of those groomes (a jolly groome was he

^a *best known by that name.*] The line requires that “known” should be read as two syllables, and it is so printed in all editions after the first : in that of 1595, however, it erroneously stands *knowne*, consequently one syllable. It was Spenser’s practice to write “known” under such circumstances, and we may be sure that *knowne* for “known” was only a mistake by the old compositor. Tityrus, in the second line, is, of course, Chaucer. C.

^b *Charming his oaten pipe, &c.*] See the note on F. Q. v. ix. 13. T. WARTON. Vol. iii. p. 447, of this edition ; where T. Warton’s notion that the phrase “to charm the tongue” did not mean *to be silent* is set right. See also vol. i. p. 119. C.

As ever piped on an oaten reed,
 And lov'd this shepheard dearest in degree,
 Hight Hobbinol)^c gan thus to him areed. 15

“Colin, my lief, my life, how great a losse
 Had all the shepheards nation by thy lacke;
 And I, poore swaine, of many, greatest crosse!
 That sith thy Muse first since thy turning backe
 Was heard to found as she was wont on hye, 20
 Haft made us all so blessed and so blythe.

Whilest thou wast hence, all dead in dole did lie:
 The woods were heard to waile full many a fythe,^d
 And all their birds with silence to complaine:
 The fields with faded flowers did seem to mourne, 25
 And all their flocks from feeding to refraine:

The running waters wept for thy returne,
 And all their fish with languour did lament.
 But now, both woods and fields and floods revive,
 Sith thou art come, their cause of meriment, 30
 That us, late dead, haft made againe alive:
 But were it not too painefull to repeat
 The passed fortunes, which to thee befell
 In thy late voyage, we thee would entreat,
 Now at thy leifure them to us to tell.” 35

To whom the shepheard gently answered thus:
 “Hobbin, thou temptest me to that I covet;
 For of good passed newly to discus,
 By dubble usurie doth twise renew it.
 And since I saw that Angels blessed eie, 40
 Her worlds bright fun, her heavens fairest light,

^c *Hight Hobbinol.*] We have seen in the “Shep. Cal.” in various places, that by “Hobbinol” Spenfer intended Gabriel Harvey. C.

^d *full many a fythe.*] Full many a *time*. Gower, in “Conf. Am.” uses “ofte fithe” in the same way, for *often times*. It does not, of course, here mean that the woods were frequently heard to wail with many *sighs*, but that they were frequently heard to wail. We have “sith” for *since* lower down. C.

My mind, full of my thoughts fatietie,
 Doth feed on sweet contentment of that fight :
 Since that fame day in nought I take delight,
 Ne feeling have in any earthly pleasure, 45
 But in remembrance of that glorious bright,
 My lifes sole blisse, my hearts eternall threasure.
 Wake then, my pipe! my sleepeie Muse, awake ;
 Till I have told her praises lasting long :
 Hobbin desires thou maist it not forsake ; 50
 Harke then, ye jolly shepheards, to my song."

With that they all gan throng about him neare,
 With hungrie eares to heare his harmonie ;
 The whiles their flocks, devoyd of dangers feare,
 Did round about them feed at libertie. 55

" One day (quoth he) I sat, (as was my trade)
 Under the foote of Mole, that mountaine hore,
 Keeping my sheepe amongst the cooly shade
 Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore :^e
 There a straunge shepheard chaunst to find me out, 60
 Whether allured with my pipes delight,
 Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
 Or thither led by chaunce, I know not right :
 Whom when I asked from what place he came,
 And how he hight, himselfe he did ycleepe 65
 The shepheard of the Ocean by name,
 And said he came far from the main-sea deepe.
 He, sitting me beside in that fame shade,
 Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit ;^f

^e *Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore.*] The *Mulla* (noted for excellent trouts and fine eels, also salmon, and some carp, perch, and tench) is the river *Awbeg*; which runs not far from Kilcolman [Spenser's residence], and washes Buttevant, Doneraile, Castletown-Roch, &c. Spenser also celebrates the *Mulla*, F. Q. vii. vi. 40. Smith's "Hist. of Cork," vol. i. p. 342. Todd. The story is there, vol. iv. p. 255, not of *Mulla*, but of *Molanna*, the sister of *Mulla*. C.

^f *to plaie some pleasant fit.*] *Strain* or *air*. A *fit*, says Mr. Steevens, was a part or division of a song; sometimes a strain in music; and

And, when he heard the musicke which I made, 70
 He found himselfe full greatly pleas'd at it :
 Yet, æmuling my pipe,^g he tooke in hond
 My pipe, before that æmuled of many,
 And plaid theron, (for well that skill he cond)
 Himselfe as skilfull in that art as any. 75
 He pip'd, I fung ; and, when he fung, I piped ;
 By chaunge of turnes, each making other mery ;
 Neither envying other, nor envied,
 So piped we, untill we both were weary."

There interrupting him, a bonie fwaine, 80
 That Cuddy hight, him thus atweene bespake :
 " And, should it not thy readie course restraine,
 I would request thee, Colin, for my sake,
 To tell what thou didst sing, when he did plaie ;
 For, well I weene, it worth recounting was, 85
 Whether it were some hymne, or morall laie,
 Or carol made to praise thy loved lasse."

" Nor of my love, nor of my lasse,^h (quoth he)
 I then did sing, as then occasion fell ;
 For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me, 90
 That made me in that desert chose to dwell.
 But of my river Bregogs love I foong,

sometimes a measure in dancing. The reader will find the word illustrated in the two former senses by Dr. Percy in the first volume of the "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," and in the latter by Mr. Steevens in his note on Shakespeare's "Troil. and Cress." A. iii. S. 1. See also F. Q. i. xi. 7 [vol. ii. p. 49]. Todd. Bishop Percy explains the application of the word "fit" not in his *first*, but in his second volume: edit. 1765, p. 161; edit. 1775, p. 168; and edit. 1812, p. 190. C.

^g *Yet, æmuling my pipe.*] See also *æmuled* in the next line. This verb is probably of Spenser's coinage. Todd. It has not been since used, excepting, as Richardson shows, by Edwards: all other writers have *emulating* and *emulated*. C.

^h *nor of my lasse.*] It is singular, in connection with the next line but two—"For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me"—that in the first impression of this poem "lasse" is misprinted *losse*. Nobody has hitherto noticed the variation, and all subsequent editions read "lasse." C.

Which to the shyny Mulla he did beare,
 And yet doth beare, and ever will, so long
 As water doth within his bancks appeare."

95

"Of fellowship (saied then that bony Boy)
 Record to us that lovely lay againe ;
 The staie whereof shall nought these eares annoy,
 Who all that Colin makes do covet faine."

"Heare then (quoth he) the tenor of my tale, 100
 In sort as I it to that shepheard told :
 No leasng new, nor Grandams fable stale,
 But auncient truth confirm'd with credence old.

"Old father Mole (Mole hight that mountain gray
 That walls the Northside of Armulla dale) 105
 He had a daughter fresh as floure of May,
 Which gave that name unto that pleasant vale ;
 Mulla, the daughter of old Mole, so hight
 The Nymph which of that water course has charge,
 That, springing out of Mole, doth run downe right 110
 To Buttevant, where, spreading forth at large,
 It giveth name unto that auncient Cittie,
 Which Kilnemullah cleped is of old ;
 Whose ragged ruines breed great ruth and pittie
 To travailers, which it from far behold. 115
 Full faine she lov'd, and was belov'd full faine
 Of her owne brother river, Bregog hight,
 So hight because of this deceitfull traine,ⁱ
 Which he with Mulla wrought to win delight.
 But her old fire, more carefull of her good, 120
 And meaning her much better to preferre,
 Did thinke to match her with the neighbour flood,
 Which Allo hight, Broad water called farre ;
 And wrought so well with his continuall paine,

ⁱ *So hight because of this deceitfull traine.*] The etymology of *Bregog*, according to Llhuyd, as Mr. Walker has observed, means *false* or *lying*. TODD.

That he that river for his daughter wonne : 125
 The dowre agreed, the day assigned plaine,
 The place appointed where it should be doone.
 Nathlesse the Nymph her former liking held ;
 For love will not be drawne, but must be ledde ;
 And Bregog did so well her fancie weld,^k 130
 That her good will he got her first to wedde.
 But for her father, sitting still on hie,
 Did warily still watch which way she went,
 And eke from far observ'd with jealous eie,
 Which way his course the wanton Bregog bent, 135
 Him to deceive, for all his watchfull ward,
 The wily lover did devise this flight :
 First into many parts his streame he shar'd,
 That, whilest the one was watcht, the other might
 Passe unespide to meete her by the way ; 140
 And then, besides, those little streames so broken
 He under ground so closely did convey,
 That of their passage doth appeare no token,
 Till they into the Mullaes water slide.
 So secretly did he his love enjoy : 145
 Yet not so secret, but it was descride,
 And told her father by a shepheards boy ;
 Who, wondrous wroth for that so foule despight,
 In great avenge did roll downe from his hill
 Huge mightie stones, the which encomber might 150
 His passage, and his water-courses spill.^l
 So of a River, which he was of old,
 He none was made, but scattred all to nought ;

^k *so well her fancie weld.*] It is just worth observing, in reference to the frequent mistakes between *f* and *s*, that "fancie" was here misprinted *fancie* in 1595. In the next line but one, "But for her father" is to be understood as "But *because* her father." C.

^l *and his water-courses spill.*] "Spill" and *spoil* appear to be the same word: see vol. iv. p. 36. C.

And, lost among those rocks into him rold,
Did lose his name: so deare his love he bought." 155

Which having said, him Thestylis bespake:
"Now, by my life, this was a mery lay,
Worthie of Colin selfe that did it make.
But read now eke, of friendship I thee pray,
What dittie did that other shepheard sing? 160
For I do covet most the same to heare,
As men use most to covet forreine thing."

"That shall I eke (quoth he) to you declare.
His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindnesse, and of usage hard, 165
Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea,
Which from her presence faultlesse him debard.
And ever and anon, with singulfs rife,
He cryed out, to make his under-song,
'Ah! my loves queene, and goddesse of my life, 170
Who shall me pittie, when thou doest me wrong?'"

Then gan a gentle bonylasse to speake,
That Marin hight: "Right well he sure did plaine,
That could great Cynthiaes fore displeasure breake,
And move to take him to her grace againe. 175
But tell on further, Colin, as befell
Twixt him and thee, that thee did hence dissuade."

"When thus our pipes we both had wearied well,
(Quoth he) and each an end of finging made,
He gan to cast great lyking to my lore, 180
And great dislyking to my lucklesse lot,
That banisht had my selfe, like wight forlore,
Into that waste, where I was quite forgot:
The which to leave thenceforth he counfeld mee,
Unmeet for man, in whom was ought regardfull, 185
And wend with him, his Cynthia to see;
Whose grace was great, and bounty most rewardfull.

Besides her peerlesse skill in making well,^m
 And all the ornaments of wondrous wit,
 Such as all womankynd did far excell ; 190
 Such as the world admyr'd, and praised it.
 So, what with hope of good and hate of ill,
 He me perswaded forth with him to fare.
 Nought tooke I with me, but mine oaten quill :
 Small needments else need shepheard to prepare. 195
 So to the sea we came ; the sea ? that is
 A world of waters heaped up on hie,
 Rolling like mountaines in wide wilder nesse,
 Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie."
 " And is the sea (quoth Coridon) so fearfull ?" 200
 " Fearful much more (quoth he) then hart can fear :
 Thousand wyld beasts with deep mouthes gaping direfull
 Therin stil wait poore passengers to teare.
 Who life doth loath, and longs death to behold,
 Before he die alreadie dead with feare, 205
 And yet would live with heart halfe stonie cold,
 Let him to sea, and he shall see it there.

^m *her peerlesse skill in making well.*] In poetical composition. See the note on the "Shep. Cal." June, ver. 82 [vol. i. p. 75]. Puttenham highly commends, as "passing sweete and harmonically," a Ditty by her Majesty, which is reprinted in Ellis's "Specimens of the Early English Poets." And, in Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," [vol. ii. p. 132, edit. 1765,] her verses, written with charcoal on a shutter while she was prisoner at Woodstock, are reprinted from a corrected copy of them as preserved by Hentzner. Todd. Puttenham, speaking generally of Queen Elizabeth's "skill in making well," says:—"But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our soveraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse easily surmounteth all the rest that have written before her time or since, for sense, sweetnesse and subtiltie, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme herroick or lyricke, wherein it shall please her Majestie to employ her penne, even by as much oddes as her owne excellent estate and degree exceedeth all the rest of her most humble vassalls." P. 51, edit. 1589. Todd omits to notice the Queen's verses, which Percy tells us were composed about 1569, and are, perhaps, the best specimen of her "skill." He inserts them in vol. ii. p. 202, edit. 1765. They are quoted from Puttenham, whose applause is equally courtierlike and extravagant. C.

And yet as ghastly dreadfull as it seemes,
 Bold men, presuming life for gaine to sell,
 Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wandring stremes 210
 Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell:
 For, as we stood there waiting on the strond,
 Behold! an huge great vessell to us came,
 Dauncing upon the waters back to lond,
 As if it scornd the daunger of the fame; 215
 Yet was it but a wooden frame and fraile,
 Glewed together with some subtile matter:
 Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile,
 And life to move it selfe upon the water.
 Strange thing! how bold and swift the monster was, 220
 That neither car'd for wynd, nor haile, nor raine,
 Nor swelling waves, but thorough them did passe
 So proudly that she made them roare againe.
 The same aboard us gently did receave,
 And without harme us farre away did beare, 225
 So farre that land, our mother, us did leave,
 And nought but sea and heaven to us appeare.ⁿ
 Then hartlesse quite, and full of inward feare,
 That shepheard I besought to me to tell,
 Under what skie, or in what world we were, 230
 In which I saw no living people dwell?
 Who, me recomforting all that he might,
 Told me that that same was the Regiment
 Of a great shepheardeffe that Cynthia hight,
 His liege, his Ladie, and his lifes Regent. 235
 "If then (quoth I) a shepheardeffe she bee,

ⁿ *And nought but sea and heaven to us appeare.*] Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 192.

"Postquam altum tenuere rates, nec jam amplius ullæ

"Apparent terræ, cælum undique, et undique pontus."

JORTIN. Spenser must have seen these things before, on his way to Ireland, where he was found by the Shepherd of the Sea, Sir Walter Raleigh, and induced to return with him to England. C.

Where be the flockes and heards which she doth keep?
 And where may I the hills and pastures see,
 On which she useth for to feed her sheepe?"

"These be the hills, (quoth he) the farges hie, 240
 On which faire Cynthia her heards doth feed:
 Her heards be thousand fishes with their frie,
 Which in the bosome of the billowes breed.
 Of them the shepheard which hath charge in chief,
 Is Triton, blowing loud his wreathed horne; 245
 At sound whereof, they all for their relief
 Went too and fro at evening and at morne.
 And Proteus eke with him does drive his heard
 Of stinking Seales and Porcpisces together,
 With hoary head and deawy dropping beard, 250
 Compelling them which way he list, and whether.
 And I, among the rest, of many least,
 Have in the Ocean charge to me assignd;
 Where I will live or die at her behest,
 And serve and honour her with faithfull mind. 255
 Besides an hundred Nymphs all heavenly borne,
 And of immortall race, doo still attend
 To wash faire Cynthiaes sheep when they be shorne,
 And fold them up when they have made an end.
 Those be the shepheards which my Cynthia serve 260
 At sea, beside a thousand moe at land;
 For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve
 To have in her commandement at hand."

Thereat I wondred much, till, wondring more
 And more, at length we land far off descryde; 265
 Which sight much gladed me, for much afore
 I feard, least land we never should have eyde:
 Thereto our ship her course directly bent,
 As if the way she perfectly had knowne.
 We Lunday passe; by that same name is ment 270
 An Island, which the first to west was showne.

From thence another world of land we kend,
 Floting amid the sea in jeopardie,
 And round about with mightie white rocks hemd,
 Against the seas encroching crueltie. 275
 Those fame, the shepheard told me, were the fields
 In which dame Cynthia her landheards fed;
 Faire goodly fields, than which Armulla yields
 None fairer, nor more fruitfull to be red.
 The first to which we nigh approched was 280
 An high headland thrust far into the sea,
 Like to an horne,^o whereof the name it has,
 Yet seemed to be a goodly pleasant lea:
 There did a loftie mount at first us greet,
 Which did a stately heape of stones upreare, 285
 That seemd amid the surges for to fleet,
 Much greater then that frame which us did beare:
 There did our ship her fruitfull wombe unlade,
 And put us all ashore on Cynthias land."

"What land is that thou meanst, (then Cuddy sayd) 290
 And is there other then whereon we stand?"

"Ah! Cuddy, (then quoth Colin) thous a fon,^p
 That hast not seene least part of natures worke:
 Much more there is unkend then thou doest kon,
 And much more that does from mens knowledge lurke;
 For that fame land much larger is then this, 296
 And other men and beasts and birds doth feed.
 There fruitfull corne, faire trees, fresh herbage is,

^o *Like to an horne, &c.*] Cornwall. See Carew's "Survey of Cornwall," 1602. p. 1. "Some draw the name *Cornwall* from *Corineus*, cousin to Brute, &c. Some, &c. from CORNU *Galliæ*, a horne or corner of Fraunce, whereagainst nature hath placed it; and some, from CORNU *Walliæ*, which (in my coniecture) carrieth greatest likelyhood of truth." See also Drayton's "Polyolbion," S. i. TODD. It is Selden, in his "Notes," who enters into the question of the origin of the name of Cornwall: "If you believe the tale of Corin and Gogmagog," &c. C.

^p *thous a fon.*] A fool, as in "Shep. Cal." for Febr. vol. i. p. 24. C.

And all things else that living creatures need :
 Besides, most goodly rivers there appeare, 300
 No whit inferiour to thy Fanchins praise,^a
 Or unto Allo, or to Mulla cleare :

Nought hast thou, foolish boy, seene in thy daies."

"But if that land be there (quoth he) as here,
 And is theyr heaven likewise there all one? 305
 And if like heaven, be heavenly graces there,
 Like as in this fame world where we do wone?"

"Both heaven and heavenly graces do much more
 (Quoth he) abound in that fame land then this ;
 For there all happie peace and plenteous store 310
 Conspire in one to make contented blisse :

No wayling there nor wretchednesse is heard,
 No bloodie issues, nor no leprofies,
 No griesly famine, nor no raging sweard,
 No nightly bodrags,^r nor no hue and cries. 315

The shepheards there abroad may safely lie,
 On hills and downes, withouten dread or daunger :
 No ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,
 Nor outlawes fell affray the forest raunger.

There learned arts do florish in great honor, 320
 And Poets wits are had in peerlesse price :
 Religion hath lay powre to rest upon her,
 Advancing vertue and suppressing vice.

For end, all good, all grace there freely growes,
 Had people grace it gratefully to use ; 325
 For God his gifts there plenteously bestowes,
 But gracelesse men them greatly do abuse."

"But say on further, (then said Corylas)

^a to thy Fanchins praise.] It is misprinted Funchins in all the old copies, but Spenser has already called it "Fanchin" in the F. Q. C.

^r No nightly bodrags.] Rather *bordrags*, i. e. *bordragings*, as in the F. Q. ii. x. 63. Where see the note on the word. Todd. Possibly "bordraging," the word in the F. Q. is to be taken as a colloquial abbreviation of *border-ravaging*: see vol. ii. p. 282. C.

The rest of thine adventures that betyded."

"Foorth on our voyage we by land did passe, 330
 (Quoth he) as that same shepheard still us guyded,
 Untill that we to Cynthiaes presence came :
 Whose glorie, greater then my simple thought,
 I found much greater then the former fame :
 Such greatnes I cannot compare to ought ; 335
 But if I her like ought on earth might read,
 I would her lyken to a crowne of lillies,
 Upon a virgin brydes adorned head,
 With Roses dight and Goolds and Daffadillies ;
 Or like the circlet of a Turtle true,^s 340
 In which all colours of the rainbow bee ;
 Or like faire Phebes garlond shining new,
 In which all pure perfection one may see.
 But vaine it is to thinke, by paragone
 Of earthly things, to judge of things divine : 345
 Her power, her mercy, and her wisedome, none
 Can deeme, but who the Godhead can define.
 Why then do I, base shepheard, bold and blind,
 Presume the things so sacred to prophane ?
 More fit it is t'adore, with humble mind, 350
 The image of the heavens in shape humane."

With that Alexis broke his tale asunder,
 Saying ; " By wondring at thy Cynthiaes praise,
 Colin, thy selfe thou mak'st us more to wonder,
 And her upraising doest thy selfe upraise. 355
 But let us heare what grace she shewed thee,
 And how that shepheard strange thy cause advanced."

" The shepheard of the Ocean (quoth he)
 Unto that Goddesse grace me first enhanced,

^s Or like the circlet of a Turtle true.] The emperor Nero said of the dove,

" Colla Cytheriacæ splendent agitata columbæ."
 Which verse his tutor Seneca commends greatly, Nat. Quæst. I. 5.
 And indeed it is not a bad one. JORTIN.

And to mine oaten pipe enclin'd her eare, 360
 That she thenceforth therein gan take delight,
 And it desir'd at timely houres to heare,
 All were my notes but rude and roughly dight:
 For not by measure of her owne great mynd,
 And wondrous worth, she mott my simple song,^t 365
 But joyd that country shepheard ought could fynd
 Worth harkening to emongst the learned throng."

"Why, (said Alexis then) what needeth shee
 That is so great a shepheardesse her selfe,"
 And hath so many shepheards in her fee, 370
 To heare thee sing, a simple filly elfe?
 Or be the shepheards which do serve her laesie,
 That they list not their mery pipes applie?
 Or be their pipes untunable and craesie,
 That they cannot her honour worthylye?" 375

"Ah! nay (said Colin) neither so, nor so;
 For better shepheards be not under skie,
 Nor better hable, when they list to blow
 Their pipes aloud, her name to glorifie.
 There is good Harpalus,^x now woxen aged 380
 In faithful service of faire Cynthia:
 And there is Corydon,^y though meanly waged,

^t *she mott my simple song.*] Perhaps *mott* is the preterperfect of *mete*, i. e. *measure*. T. WARTON. Warton is probably right, but we know of no other instance where "mott" means *measured*. C.

^u *That is so great a shepheardesse her selfe.*] Not only in the time of Spenser was the word "Shepherd" used as synonymous with *poet*, but here we see that "Shepherdes" was equivalent to *poetess*. Elizabeth's "skill in making" has been already enforced, p. 38. C.

^x *There is good Harpalus.*] By Harpalus, Malone (Shakesp. by Boswell, ii. 235) understands Churchyard, but we shall see presently that that old poet is alluded to under a different name. We apprehend that Harpalus is Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, "now woxen aged," and the author of the Induction to "The Mirror for Magistrates," and part author, with Thomas Norton, of the tragedy of "Gorboduc," acted in 1561, and printed in 1565. The Shakespeare Society reprinted it in 1847 from the earliest impression: it was edited, together with "Ralph Roister Doister," by Mr. W. D. Cooper. C.

^y *And there is Corydon.*] Perhaps Abraham Fraunce, the author of

Yet hableft wit of most I know this day.
 And there is sad Alcyon^z bent to mourne,
 Though fit to frame an everlasting dittie, 385
 Whose gentle spright for Daphnes death doth tourn
 Sweet layes of love to endlesse plaints of pittie.
 Ah! pensive boy, pursue that brave concept,
 In thy sweet Eglantine of Meriflure;
 Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height, 390
 That may thy Muse and mates to mirth allure.
 There eke is Palin^a worthie of great praise,
 Albe he envie at my rustick quill:
 And there is pleasing Alcon,^b could he raise
 His tunes from laies to matter of more skill. 395
 And there is old Palemon^c free from spight,

various works in English hexameters, one of which, published in 1588, was called, "The Lamentation of *Corydon* for the Love of *Alexis*." C.

^z *And there is sad Alcyon.*] We shall see, in Spenser's "*Daphnaida*," that Arthur Gorges has assigned to him the poetical and pastoral name of Alcyon. His "brave concept," as Spenser terms it, under the title of "*Eglantine of Meriflure*," was clearly unfinished, and our Poet exhorts him to complete it. Complete or incomplete, it has not survived either in print or in manuscript. C.

^a *There eke is Palin.*] Malone was probably right in thinking that by Palin our poet intended George Peele, who very likely "envied at" Spenser's "rustick quill." Peele was himself an imitator of Spenser, as may be seen by the pastoral he published on the return of the Earl of Essex to England from Portugal, in 1589, under the title of "*An Eglogue Gratulatorie*." Dyce's "*Peele*," vol. iii. p. 147. C.

^b *And there is pleasing Alcon.*] We cannot think, with Malone, that Alcon was intended for Thomas Lodge, a poet and prose writer of great note and popularity, the author, among other things, of the novel on which Shakespeare founded "*As you like it*." The latter part of Spenser's character is altogether below the merits of Lodge, and it is much more probable that Nicholas Breton, or some even inferior versifier, was intended. Lodge's own pastoral name was Golde. C.

^c *And there is old Palemon.*] This reference was certainly to Thomas Churchyard, who takes it to himself in his "*Pleasant Discourse of Court and Wars*," printed in 1596; so that Malone was wide of the mark when he gave the character and the peculiarity of hoarseness to Arthur Golding. Churchyard tells us that the Court is the place where all poets thrive but himself,—

Whose carefull pipe may make the hearer rew;
 Yet he himfelfe may rewed be more right,
 That fung fo long untill quite hoarfe he grew.
 And there is Alabafter, throughly taught
 In all this skill, though knowen yet to few;
 Yet, were he knowne to Cynthia as he ought,
 His Elisëis^d would be redde anew.

400

Who lives that can match that heroick fong,
 Which he hath of that mightie Princeffe made?
 O dreaded Dread! do not thy felfe that wrong,
 To let thy fame lie fo in hidden shade;
 But call it forth, O! call him forth to thee,
 To end thy glorie which he hath begun:
 That, when he finisht hath as it fould be,
 No braver Poeme can be under fun.

405

410

Nor Po nor Tyburs fwans fo much renowned,
 Nor all the brood of Greece fo highly praised,

“Save one whose voice is hoarse they say.”

This acknowledgment puts it beyond a doubt; and it came from one who began writing in the reign of Edward VI. and did not cease until after James I. had ascended the throne: he might well, therefore, be both “old” and “hoarse.” C.

^d *His Elisëis.*] This is preserved among the Manuscripts in Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and is numbered 1. 4. 16. I have been favoured by the Master of that Society with the perusal of it. It is entitled, “Elisæis, Apotheosis poetica, sive, De florentissimo imperio et rebus gestis augustissimæ et invictissimæ principis Elizabethæ D. G. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ. POEMATIS in duodecem libros tribuendi LIBER PRIMUS. Authore GULIELMO ALABASTRO, Cantabrigienfi Colleg. Trin.” It is dedicated to Queen Elisabeth. The poem opens thus:—

“Virgineum mundi decus, augustamque Britannæ

“Regnatricem aulæ, et lætis digesta tot annos

“Imperiis, pacisque artes, bellicque triumphos,

“Ordior æternæ rerum transcribere famæ.

“Argumentum ingens,” &c.

This manuscript, according to Antony Wood, had been formerly in the possession of Theod. Hake. Alabafter never finished the poem. Todd. Alabafter is almost the only poet upon whom the commentators of Spenser have furnished a note. He went over to the Romish Church, but later in life returned to the Protestant religion. In English he was the author of a number of spiritual sonnets, only existing in manuscript. C.

Can match that Muse when it with bayes is crowned,
 And to the pitch of her perfection raised. 415
 And there is a new shepheard late up sprong,
 The which doth all afore him far surpasse;
 Appearing well in that well tuned song,
 Which late he fung unto a scornfull lasse:
 Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie, 420
 As daring not too rashly mount on hight,
 And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
 In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.
 Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,^e
 And to what course thou please thy selfe advance: 425
 But most, me seemes, thy accent will excell
 In tragick plaints and passionate mischance.
 And there that shepheard of the Ocean is,^f
 That spends his wit in loves consuming smart:^g
 Full sweetly tempred is that Muse of his, 430
 That can empierce a Princes mightie hart.
 There also is (ah no! he is not now)
 But since I said he is, he quite is gone,
 Amyntas quite is gone^h and lies full low,

^e *Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell.*] Here again Spenser introduces a real name: Daniel could hardly in 1595 be truly called "a new shepheard," seeing that his "Delia," a collection of sonnets, had been twice printed in 1592, and that he had begun authorship, with a translation, five years earlier. Four books of his "Civil Wars" were published in 1595, and in the same year, if not sooner, his tragedy of "Cleopatra" came out. His popularity was afterwards very great. C.

^f *And there that shepheard of the Oceanis.*] Sir Walter Raleigh, who, we may infer from what is here said, and from what, indeed, is known, "spent his wits" in amatory poems addressed to Elizabeth: Spenser bears witness that they had "empierced a Prince's mightie hart." The Queen's vanity had the most prodigious swallow, and there was no flattery, however gross, (as Spenser well knew) that would not be instantly and greedily devoured. Hence the numerous and extravagant laudations of her that have come down to our day. C.

^g *That spends his wit in loves consuming smart.*] Most [many] of Sir W. Raleigh's verses appear to have been of the amatory kind. Todd.

^h *Amyntas quite is gone.*] Amyntas is Ferdinando, Earl of Derby;

Having his Amaryllis left to mone. 435
 Helpe, O ye shepheards! helpe ye all in this,
 Helpe Amaryllis this her losse to mourne :
 Her losse is yours, your losse Amyntas is,
 Amyntas, floure of shepheards pride forlorne.
 He whilest he lived was the noblest swaine, 440
 That ever piped in an oaten quill :
 Both did he other which could pipe maintaine,
 And eke could pipe himselfe with passing skill.
 And there, though last not least, is Aetion ;
 A gentler shepherd may no where be found : 445
 Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention,
 Doth like himselfe heroically found.ⁱ
 All these, and many others mo remaine,
 Now, after Astrofell is dead and gone ;
 But, while as Astrofell did live and raine, 450
 Amongst all these was none his Paragone.
 All these do flourish in their sundry kynd,
 And do their Cynthia immortall make ;
 Yet found I lyking in her royall mynd,
 Not for my skill, but for that shepheards sake." 455
 Then spake a lovely lasse, hight Lucida :
 " Shepherd, enough of shepheards thou hast told,
 Which favour thee, and honour Cynthia :
 But of so many Nymphs, which she doth hold

which poetical name he received also from Nash. Todd. In "Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Devill," 4to. 1592, reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1842: it will be found near the bottom of page 90:—"But from generall fame, let me digres to my private experience," &c. See also the "Life of Spenser." C.

ⁱ *Doth like himselfe Heroically found.*] Todd has not assigned the name of Aetion to any poet of the time; but the terms of this last line have led many to suppose that Shakespeare was intended, both syllables of whose name have a martial and heroical sound: the words "A gentler shepherd may no where be found," also seem to point at the character of our great dramatist, the *gentleness* of whose nature is alluded to by many of his contemporaries. See "Collier's Shakespeare," edit. 1858, p. 105. Malone argued that Shakespeare must be intended. C.

In her retinew, thou hast nothing sayd ; 460
 That seems, with none of them thou favor foundest,
 Or art ingratefull to each gentle mayd,
 That none of all their due deserts resoundest."

" Ah ! far be it (quoth Colin Clout) fro me,
 That I of gentle Mayds should ill deserve, 465
 For that my selfe I do professe to be
 Vassall to one, whom all my dayes I serve ;
 The beame of beautie sparkled from above,
 The floure of vertue and pure chastitie,
 The blossome of sweet joy and perfect love, 470
 The pearle of peerlesse grace and modestie !
 To her my thoughts I daily dedicate,
 To her my heart I nightly martyrize ;
 To her my love I lowly do prostrate,
 To her my life I wholly sacrifice : 475
 My thought, my heart, my love, my life is shee,
 And I hers ever onely, ever one ;
 One ever I all vowed hers to bee,
 One ever I, and others never none."

Then thus Melissa said : " Thrise happie Mayd, 480
 Whom thou doest so enforce to deifie,
 That woods, and hills, and valleyes thou hast made
 Her name to eccho unto heaven hie !
 But say, who else vouchsafed thee of grace ?"

" They all (quoth he) me graced goodly well, 485
 That all I praise ; but, in the highest place,
 Urania, sister unto Astrofell,^k
 In whose brave mynd, as in a golden cofer,
 All heavenly gifts and riches locked are ;
 More rich then pearles of Ynde, or gold of Opher, 490
 And in her sex more wonderfull and rare.

^k *Urania, sister unto Astrofell.*] Another name for the Countess of Pembroke : it is mis-spelt *Uriana* in the first edition. C.

Ne lesse praise-worthie I Theana read,
 Whose goodly beames, though they be over dight
 With mourning stole of carefull wydowhead,
 Yet through that darksome vale do glister bright : 495
 She is the well of bountie and brave mynd,
 Excelling most in glorie and great light ;
 She is the ornament of womankind,
 And Courts chief garlond with all vertues dight.
 Therefore great Cynthia her in chieftest grace 500
 Doth hold, and next unto her selfe advance,
 Well worthie of so honourable place,
 For her great worth and noble governance.
 Ne lesse praise worthie is her sister deare,
 Faire Marian, the Muses onely darling ;¹ 505
 Whose beautie shyneth as the morning cleare,
 With silver deaw upon the roses pearling.
 Ne lesse praise worthie is Mansilia,
 Best knowne by bearing up great Cynthiaes traine :
 That same is she to whom Daphnaida^m 510
 Upon her neeces death I did complaine.
 She is the paterne of true womanhead,
 And onely mirrhor of feminitie ;
 Worthie next after Cynthia to tread,
 As she is next her in nobilitie. 515
 Ne lesse praise worthie Galathea seemes,
 Then best of all that honourable crew,
 Faire Galathea with bright shining beames,

¹ *the Muses onely darling.*] Here the word is "darling," and not *dearling*, which Spenser has before used, and which would better suit the rhyme: perhaps his reason for spelling it "darling," was that the preceding line ends with "deare." The real names of these court-ladies it is not easy to recover, and nobody seems to have tried the experiment. C.

^m *to whom Daphnaida.*] This piece was not printed until a year after the present, viz. in 1596; but Spenser's dedication of it is dated 1 Jan. 1591-2; it was an Elegy, as will be seen hereafter, on the death of Douglas Howard, wife to Arthur Gorges, Esq. C.

Inflaming feeble eyes that her do view.
 She there then waited upon Cynthia ; 520
 Yet there is not her won, but here with us
 About the borders of our rich Coshma,
 Now made of Maa, the Nymph delitious.
 Ne lesse praisworthie faire Neæra is,
 Neæra ours, not theirs, though there she be ; 525
 For of the famous Shure the Nymph she is,
 For high desert advaunst to that degree.
 She is the blosome of grace and curtesie,
 Adorned with all honourable parts :
 She is the braunch of true nobilitie, 530
 Belov'd of high and low with faithfull harts.
 Ne lesse praisworthie Stella do I read,
 Though nought my praises of her needed arre,
 Whom verse of noblest shepheard, lately dead,ⁿ
 Hath prais'd and rais'd above each other starre. 535
 Ne lesse praisworthie are the sisters three,
 The honor of the noble familie,
 Of which I meanest boast my selfe to be,
 And most that unto them I am so nie ;
 Phyllis, Charillis, and sweet Amaryllis. 540
 Phyllis the faire is eldest of the three :
 The next to her is bountifull Charillis ;
 But th' youngest is the highest in degree.
 Phyllis, the floure of rare perfection,
 Faire spreading forth her leaves with fresh delight, 545
 That, with their beauties amorous reflexion,
 Bereave of sence each rash beholders sight.
 But sweet Charillis is the paragone
 Of peerlesse price, and ornament of praise,
 Admyr'd of all, yet envied of none, 550

ⁿ *noblest shepheard, lately dead.*] Of course, Sir P. Sidney ; and an allusion to his "Astrophel and Stella," first printed in 1591. C.

Through the myld temperance of her goodly raies.
 Thrife happie do I hold thee, noble swaine,
 The which art of so rich a spoile posselt,
 And it embracing deare without disdaine,
 Hast sole possession in so chaste a brest : 555
 Of all the shepheards daughters which there bee,
 And yet there be the fairest under skie,
 Or that elsewhere I ever yet did see,
 A fairer Nymph yet never saw mine eie.
 She is the pride and primrose of the rest,^o 560
 Made by the Maker selfe to be admired ;
 And like a goodly beacon high addrest,
 That is with sparks of heavenlie beautie fired.
 But Amaryllis, whether fortunate,
 Or else unfortunate may I aread, 565
 That freed is from Cupids yoke by fate,
 Since which she doth new bands adventure dread.
 Sheheard, what ever thou hast heard to be
 In this or that prayd diversly apart,
 In her thou maist them all assembled see, 570
 And seald up in the threasure of her hart.
 Ne thee lesse worthie, gentle Flavia,
 For thy chaste life and vertue I esteeme :
 Ne thee lesse worthie, curteous Candida,
 For thy true love and loyaltie I deeme ; 575
 Besides yet many mo that Cynthia serve,
 Right noble Nymphs, and high to be commended.

^o *primrose of the rest.*] So, in the "Shep. Cal." Feb. ver. 166.

"To be the *primrose* of all thy land."

The same expression, to denote excellence, occurs in "Daphnaida," ver. 233.

"And mine the *primrose* of the lowly shade."

Todd. In the first instance quoted by Todd, vol. i. p. 28, Spenser calls the *briar* "the *primrose*," meaning, etymologically, that it is the *prime*, or first *rose* of the year : in the second instance, *primrose* is to be taken as we now understand it, as a flower growing usually in "the lowly shade." C.

But, if I all should praise as they deserve,
 This fun would faile me ere I halfe had ended:
 Therefore, in closure of a thankfull mynd, 580
 I deeme it best to hold eternally
 Their bounteous deeds and noble favours shrynd,
 Then by discourse them to indignifie."

So having said, Aglaura him bespake:
 "Colin, well worthie were those goodly favours 585
 Bestowd on thee, that so of them doest make,
 And them requitest with thy thankfull labours.
 But of great Cynthiaes goodnesse, and high grace,
 Finish the storie which thou hast begunne."

"More eath (quoth he) it is in such a case 590
 How to begin, then know how to have donne;
 For everie gift, and everie goodly meed,
 Which she on me bestowd, demaunds a day;
 And everie day, in which she did a deed,
 Demaunds a yeare it duly to display. 595
 Her words were like a streame of honny fleeting,
 The which doth softly trickle from the hive,
 Hable to melt the hearers heart unweeting,
 And eke to make the dead againe alive.
 Her deeds were like great glusters of ripe grapes, 600
 Which load the bunches^p of the fruitfull vine;
 Offring to fall into each mouth that gapes,

^p *Which load the bunches.*] The "great glusters," or clusters, were "the bunches," so that here Spenser is made to speak of the "clusters" that load the "clusters." We are persuaded that he wrote,

"like great clusters of ripe grapes,

"Which load the *branches* of the fruitfull vine;"

and that the compositor misprinted the word *branches*, and made it "bunches." All old editions read, uniformly, "bunches," and no modern commentator has suggested a doubt as to the fitness of it. Drayton too (who, however, made no emendation in the whole poem of "Colin Clouts come Home againe,") allowed "bunches" to remain in his folio of 1611; and, with this weight of authority against our proposed change, we repeat the text precisely as we find it. C.

And fill the same with store of timely wine.
 Her lookes were like beames of the morning Sun,
 Forth looking through the windowes of the East, 605
 When first the fleecie cattell have begun
 Upon the perled grasse to make their feast.
 Her thoughts are like the fume of Franckincence,
 Which from a golden Censer forth doth rise,
 And throwing forth sweet odours mounts fro thence 610
 In rolling globes up to the vaulted skies.
 There she beholds, with high aspiring thought,
 The cradle of her owne creation,
 Emongst the seats of Angels heavenly wrought,
 Much like an Angell in all forme and fashion." 615
 "Colin, (saied Cuddy then) thou hast forgot
 Thy selfe, me seemes, too much, to mount so hie :
 Such loftie flight base shepheard seemeth not,
 From flocks and fields, to Angels and to skie."
 "True, (answered he) but her great excellence, 620
 Lifts me above the measure of my might ;
 That, being fild with furious insolence,^a
 I feele my selfe like one yrap't in spright :
 For when I thinke of her, as oft I ought,
 Then want I words to speake it fitly forth ; 625
 And when I speake of her what I have thought,
 I cannot thinke according to her worth.
 Yet will I thinke of her, yet will I speake,
 So long as life my limbs doth hold together ;
 And when as death these vitall bands shall breake, 630
 Her name recorded I will leave for ever.
 Her name in every tree I will endosse,^r

^a *with furious insolence.*] That is, with UNUSUAL *fury* ; INSOLENT being here used as the Latin *insolentia* sometimes is. See Ernesti Index Lat. in Opp. Cicer. in V. "Insolentia." TODD. The use of "insolent" as *unwonted* is not uncommon ; but we do not recollect any other author who employs "insolence" for *unwontedness*. C.

^r *in every tree I will endosse.*] *Carve* or *engrave*. See the note

That as the trees do grow her name may grow ;
 And in the ground each where will it engrosse,
 And fill with stones, that all men may it know. 635
 The speaking woods, and murmuring waters fall,
 Her name Ile teach in knowen termes to frame ;
 And eke my lambs, when for their dams they call,
 Ile teach to call for Cynthia by name.

And long while after I am dead and rotten, 640
 Amongst the shepheards daughters dancing rownd,
 My layes made of her shall not be forgotten,
 But sung by them with flowry gyrlonds crownd.
 And ye, who so ye be, that shall survive,
 When as ye heare her memory renewed, 645
 Be witnesse of her bountie here alive,
 Which she to Colin, her poore shepheard, shewed."

Much was the whole assembly of those heards
 Moov'd at his speech, so feelingly he spake ;
 And stood awhile astonisht at his words, 650
 Till Thestylis at last their silence brake,
 Saying ; " Why Colin, since thou foundst such grace
 With Cynthia and all her noble crew,
 Why didst thou ever leave that happie place,
 In which such wealth might unto thee accrew ; 655
 And back returnedst to this barrein foyle,
 Where cold and care and penury do dwell,
 Here to keep sheepe with hunger and with toyle ?
 Most wretched he, that is and cannot tell."

" Happie indeed (saide Colin) I him hold, 660
 That may that blessed presence still enjoy,
 Of fortune and of envy uncomptrold,
 Which still are wont most happie states t' annoy :
 But I, by that which little while I prooved,
 Some part of those enormities did see, 665

on F. Q. v. xi. 53 [vol. iv. p. 19]. TODD. Spenser adopted the Fr.
 rather than the Lat. etymology, as it best suited his rhyme. C.

The which in Court continually hooved,^s
 And followd those which happie seemd to bee.
 Therefore I, filly man, whose former dayes
 Had in rude fields bene altogether spent,
 Dareft not adventure fuch unknownen wayes, 670
 Nor trust the guile of fortunes blandishment;
 But rather chofe back to my fheep to tourne,
 Whose utmoft hardneffe I before had tryde,
 Then, having learnd repentance late, to mourne
 Emongft those wretches which I there defcryde.” 675

“Shepherd, (faid Theftylis) it seemes of fpight
 Thou fpeakeft thus gainft their felicitie,
 Which thou envieft, rather then of right
 That ought in them blameworthie thou doeft fpie.”

“Caufe have I none (quoth he) of cancred will 680
 To quite them ill, that me demeand fo well;
 But felfe-regard of private good or ill
 Moves me of each, fo as I found, to tell
 And eke to warne yong fhepheards wandring wit,
 Which through report of that lives painted bliffe 685
 Abandon quiet home, to feeke for it,
 And leave their lambes to losse, mifled amiffe:
 For, footh to fay, it is no fort of life,
 For fhepherd fit to lead in that fame place,
 Where each one fees with malice, and with strife, 690
 To thruft downe other into foule difgrace,
 Himfelfe to raife: and he doth fooneft rife
 That beft can handle his deceitfull wit
 In fubtil shifts, and fineft fleights devise,
 Either by flaundring his well deemed name 695

^s *continually hooved.*] *Hovered.* So, in his 89th “Sonnet.” “Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth *hove*.” Chaucer uses *hove* in the fame fenfe, “Tr. and Cr.” L. iii. 1433. TODD. Todd seems to have forgotten Spenser’s own authority in his earlier work. See the words “hove” and *hoverd* in F. Q. b. iii. c. x. ft. 20 and 23, and the note upon them, vol. iii. pp. 27, 28. C.

Through leafings lewd, and fained forgerie ;
 Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,
 By creeping close into his secrecie :
 To which him needs a guilefull hollow hart,
 Masked with faire dissembling curtesie, 700
 A filed tounge,^t furnisht with tearmes of art,
 No art of schoole, but Courtiers schoolery :
 For arts of schoole have there small countenance,
 Counted but toyes to busie ydle braines ;
 And there professours find small maintenance, 705
 But to be instruments of others gaines.
 Ne is there place for any gentle wit,
 Unlesse to please it selfe it can applie,
 But shouldred is, or out of doore quite shitt,
 As base, or blunt,^u unmeet for melodie. 710
 For each mans worth is measured by his weed,
 As harts by hornes, or asses by their eares :
 Yet asses been not all whose eares exceed,
 Nor yet all harts that hornes the highest beares ;
 For highest lookes have not the highest mynd, 715
 Nor haughtie words most full of highest thoughts,
 But are like bladders blowen up with wynd,
 That being prickt do vanish into noughts.

^t *A filed tounge, &c.*] So, in F. Q. i. i. 35 [vol. i. p. 187].

“And well could *file* his tongue as smooth as glasse.”

See also Chaucer, “Prol.” 713. Again, “Tr. et Cr.” L. i. ver. 1681. The same metaphor occurs again in our author. See F. Q. ii. i. 3 [vol. ii. p. 87]; iii. ii. 12 [vol. ii. p. 366]. T. WARTON. The expression became so common, that there are few authors, from Chaucer downwards, in whose works it may not be found: we have hitherto not thought any note upon it called for. T. Warton himself cites Skelton, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, &c. C.

^u *As base, or blunt.*] *Blunt* is ignorant, or uncivilised; and is thus used in the “Shep. Cal.” Sept. ver. 109. [Vol. i. p. 106.]

“All for her shepherds is beastly and *blont*.”

TODD. Todd misquotes from not copying the first edit. and makes Spenser write bad grammar: the line in the 4to. 1579, is,

“All for her shepherds *bene* beastly and *blont*.” C.

Even such is all their vaunted vanitie,
 Nought else but smoke that fumeth soone away : 720
 Such is their glorie that in simple eie
 Seeme greatest, when their garments are most gay.
 So they themselves for praise of fooles do sell,
 And all their wealth for painting on a wall,
 With price whereof they buy a golden bell, 725
 And purchase highest rowmes in bowre and hall ;
 Whiles single Truth and simple Honestie
 Do wander up and downe despys'd of all ;
 Their plaine attire such glorious gallantry
 Disdaines so much, that none them in doth call." 730
 " Ah ! Colin, (then said Hobbinol) the blame
 Which thou imputeest is too generall,
 As if not any gentle wit of name,
 Nor honest mynd might there be found at all.
 For well I wot, sith I my selfe was there 735
 To wait on Lobbin, (Lobbin well thou knewest)
 Full many worthie ones then waiting were,
 As ever else in Princes Court thou vewest.
 Of which among you many yet remaine,
 Whose names I cannot readily now ghesse : 740
 Those that poore Sutors papers do retaine,
 And those that skill of medicine professe,
 And those that do to Cynthia expound
 The ledden of straunge languages^x in charge ;
 For Cynthia doth in sciences abound, 745

^x *The ledden of straunge languages.*] *Dialect*; a corruption, Mr. Tyrwhitt says, of *Latin*.—Dante, he adds, uses *Latino* for *language*, *Canz. I.*

" E cantine gli augelli

" Ciascuno in suo *latino*."

Todd. Spenser has employed the same word in *F. Q.*, where he speaks of "the *ledden* of the gods," vol. iii. p. 279. Todd ordinarily omits the poet's own authority for an unusual word, although it is always most apposite. With regard to the Ital. *latino*, many other poets beside Dante use it for *speech*, or *language*. Drayton has "the *leden* of the birds," from the A. S. C.

And gives to their professors stipends large.
Therefore unjustly thou doest wyte them all,^y
For that which thou mislikedst in a few."

"Blame is (quoth he) more blamelesse generall,
Than that which private errours doth pursue; 750
For well I wot, that there amongst them bee
Full many persons of right worthie parts,
Both for report of spotlesse honestie,
And for profession of all learned arts,
Whose praise hereby no whit impaired is, 755
Though blame do light on those that faultie bee:
For all the rest do most-what far amis,^z
And yet their owne misfaring will not see;
For either they be puffed up with pride,
Or fraught with envie that their galls do swell, 760
Or they their dayes to ydlenesse divide,
Or drowned lie^a in pleasures wastefull well,
In which like Moldwarps noussling still they lurke,
Unmyndfull of chiefe parts of manlinesse;
And do themselves, for want of other worke, 765
Vaine votaries of laesie love professe,
Whose service high so basely they ensfew,
That Cupid selfe of them ashamed is,
And, mustring all his men in Venus vew,

^y *unjustly thou doest wyte them all.*] i.e. *blame* them all, as frequently, not only in "The Shep. Cal." but in the F. Q. In vol. iii. p. 396, we have "twight," in the same sense. C.

^z *do most-what far amis.*] "Most-what" is *chiefly*, or *for the most part*. We here continue the text of the earliest impression as respects the word *far*; but it is to be noted (a circumstance not hitherto pointed out) that the folio 1611 has *fare* for "far" — "do most-what *fare* amis;" and recollecting that the word "misfaring" follows in the next line, we are inclined to think that Spenser may have written "*fare* amis," and not "far amis." "Far amis" is, however, very intelligible, and must not be lightly changed. C.

^a *Or drowned lie.*] The second edition of these poems, the folio 1611, here has *drowned* for "drowned;" and farther on, p. 62, l. 858, the word is "drownd" in the first edition, as one syllable. C.

Denies them quite for servitors of his." 770

"And is Love then (saide Corylas) once knowne
In Court, and his sweet lore professed there?
I weened sure he was our God alone,
And only woond in fields and forests here:"

"Not so, (quoth he) love most aboundeth there. 775

For all the walls and windows there are writ,
All full of love, and love, and love my deare,
And all their talke and studie is of it.

Ne any there doth brave or valiant seeme,
Unlesse that some gay Mistresse badge he beares; 780

Ne any one himselfe doth ought esteeme,
Unlesse he swim in love up to the eares.

But they of love, and of his sacred lere,
(As it should be) all otherwise devise,

Then we poore shepheards are accustomed here, 785

And him do sue and serve all otherwise;
For with lewd speeches, and licentious deeds,
His mightie mysteries they do prophane,
And use his ydle name to other needs,

But as a complement for courting vaine. 790

So him they do not serve as they professe,
But make him serve to them for sordid uses.

Ah! my dread Lord, that doest liege hearts possesse,
Avenge thy selfe on them for their abuses.

But we poore shepheards, whether rightly so, 795

Or through our rudenesse into errour led,
Do make religion how we rashly go

To serve that God, that is so greatly dred:

For him the greatest of the Gods we deeme,
Borne without Syre or couples of one kynd; 800

For Venus selfe doth soly couples seeme,
Both male and female^b through commixture joynd.

^b *Both male and female, &c.*] See Mr. Upton's note on F. Q. iv. x. 41 [vol. ii. p. 264]. TODD.

So pure and spotlesse Cupid forth she brought,
 And in the gardens of Adonis nurst;
 Where growing he his owne perfection wrought, 805
 And shortly was of all the Gods the first.
 Then got he bow and shafts of gold and lead,
 In which so fell and puissant he grew,
 That Jove himselfe his powre began to dread,
 And, taking up to heaven, him godded new.^c 810
 From thence he shootes his arrowes every where
 Into the world at random as he will,
 On us fraile men, his wretched vassals here,
 Like as himselfe us pleaseth fave or spill.
 So we him worship, so we him adore 815
 With humble hearts to heaven uplifted hie,
 That to true loves he may us evermore
 Preferre, and of their grace us dignifie:
 Ne is there shepheard, ne yet shepherds swaine,
 What ever feeds in forest or in field, 820
 That dare with evil deed or leasing vaine
 Blaspheme his powre, or termes unworthie yield."
 "Shepheard, it seemes that some celestiall rage
 Of love (quoth Cuddy) is breath'd into thy brest,
 That powreth forth these oracles so sage 825
 Of that high powre, wherewith thou art possrest;
 But never wist I, till this present day,
 Albe of love I alwayes humbly deemed,
 That he was such an one as thou doest say,
 And so religiously to be esteemed. 830
 Well may it seeme, by this thy deep insight,
 That of that God the Priest thou shouldest be:

^c *him godded new.*] Shakespeare has the verb "godded" in common with Spenser, but he uses it somewhat ironically: see "Coriolanus," A. v. Sc. 3. Warner, "Albion's England," edit. 1602, p. 210, has *god-diz'd*, for *goddesfed*, in a similar manner.

"And faire, lov'd, fear'd Elizabeth here *goddiz'd* ever since." C.

So well thou wot'st the mysterie of his might,
As if his godhead thou didst present see."

"Of Loves perfection perfectly to speake, 835
Or of his nature rightly to define,
Indeed (saide Colin) passeth reasons reach,
And needs his priest t' expresse his powre divine:
For long before the world he was ybore,
And bred above in Venus bosome deare; 840
For by his powre the world was made of yore,
And all that therein wondrous doth appeare.
For how should else things so far from attone,^d
And so great enemies as of them bee,
Be ever drawne together into one, 845
And taught in such accordance to agree?
Through him the cold began to covet heat,
And water fire; the light to mount on hie,
And th' heaue downe to peize; the hungry t' eat,
And voydnesse to seeke full satietie. 850
So, being former foes, they wexed friends,
And gan by litle learne to love each other:
So, being knit, they brought forth other kynds
Out of the fruitfull wombe of their great mother.
Then first gan heaven out of darknesse dread 855
For to appeare, and brought forth chearfull day:
Next gan the earth to shew her naked head
Out of deep waters which her drownd alway;
And, shortly after, everie living wight
Crept forth like wormes out of their slimie nature. 860
Soone as on them the Suns like giving light^e

^d *things so far from attone.*] "Attone," is *at one*, or *agree*—for how otherwise should things so far from, or different from, each other *accord* together? We have had "attone" in vol. ii. p. 95, and there it means *reconcile*; but in vol. iii. pp. 2. 244, "attone," or "atone," is *at once*, and *at one time*. C.

^e *the Suns like giving light.*] This, which is the language of every old copy, may be right, and we therefore preserve it; but Todd changed

Had powred kindly heat and formall feature,
 Thenceforth they gan each one his like to love,
 And like himselfe desire for to beget :
 The Lyon chose his mate, the Turtle dove 865
 Her deare, the Dolphin his owne Dolphinet ;
 But man, that had the sparke of reasons might
 More than the rest to rule his passion,
 Chose for his love the fairest in his sight,
 Like as himselfe was fairest by creation : 870
 For beautie is the bayt which with delight
 Doth man allure for to enlarge his kynd ;
 Beautie, the burning lamp of heavens light,
 Darting her beames into each feeble mynd :
 Against whose powre nor God nor man can fynd 875
 Defence, ne ward the daunger of the wound ;
 But, being hurt, seeke to be medicynd
 Of her that first did stir that mortall stownd.
 Then do they cry and call to love apace,
 With praiers lowd importuning the skie, 880
 Whence he them heares ; and, when he list shew grace,
 Does graunt them grace that otherwise would die.
 So love is Lord of all the world by right,
 And rules their creatures by his powrfull saw,^f
 All being made the vassals of his might, 885
 Through secret sence which therto doth them draw.
 Thus ought all lovers of their lord to deeme,
 And with chaste heart to honor him alway ;

the epithet to "*life-giving*;" but even if we could be sure that such was the poet's compound, the alteration requires notice, which Todd entirely omitted. The light might be "*like-giving*," because it communicated the same genial heat as the sun. C.

^f *by his powrfull saw.*] His powerful *sentence, decree*. T. WARTON. "Saw" is strictly *saying*, A. S. *saga*: Cupid rules all creatures by his powerful *word*. The folio 1611 reads, "And rules *the* creatures." Possibly, for "their" we ought to substitute *these*, meaning the creatures already enumerated. C.

But who so else doth otherwise esteeme,
 Are outlawes, and his lore do disobay ; 890
 For their desire is base, and doth not merit
 The name of love, but of disloyall lust :
 Ne mongst true lovers they shall place inherit,
 But as Exuls out of his court be thrust."

So having said, Melissa spake at will : 895
 "Colin, thou now full deeply hast divynd
 Of love and beautie ; and, with wondrous skill,
 Hast Cupid selfe depainted in his kynd :
 To thee are all true lovers greatly bound,
 That doest their cause so mightily defend ; 900
 But most, all wemen are thy debtors found,
 That doest their bountie still so much commend."

"That ill (said Hobbinol) they him requite ;
 For having loved ever one most deare,
 He is repayd with scorne and foule despite, 905
 That yrkes each gentle heart which it doth heare."

"Indeed (said Lucid) I have often heard
 Faire Rosalind of divers fowly blamed
 For being to that swaine too cruell hard ;
 That her bright glorie else hath much defamed. 910
 But who can tell what cause had that faire Mayd
 To use him so, that used her so well ;
 Or who with blame can justly her upbrayd,
 For loving not ; for who can love compell ?
 And, sooth to say, it is foolhardie thing, 915
 Rashly to wyten creatures so divine ;
 For demigods they be, and first did spring
 From heaven, though graft in frailnesse feminine.
 And well I wote, that oft I heard it spoken,
 How one, that fairest Helene did revile,^g 920

^g *How one, that fairest Helene did revile.*] He speaks of the poet Stefichorus. JORTIN. His sight was not restored until he had composed a Palinodia in laudation of the lady. C.

Through judgement of the Gods to been ywroken,
 Loft both his eyes, and so remaynd long while,
 Till he recanted had his wicked rimes,
 And made amends to her with treble praise :
 Beware therefore, ye groomes, I read betimes,
 How rashly blame of Rosalind ye raise.”

925

“ Ah ! shepheards, (then said Colin) ye ne weet
 How great a guilt upon your heads ye draw,
 To make so bold a doome, with words unmeet,
 Of thing celestially which ye never saw ;
 For she is not like as the other crew
 Of shepheards daughters which emongst you bee,
 But of divine regard and heavenly hew,
 Excelling all that ever ye did see.

930

Not, then, to her that scorned thing so base,
 But to my selfe the blame that lookt so hie :
 So hie her thoughts as she her selfe have place,
 And loath each lowly thing with loftie eie.
 Yet so much grace let her vouchsafe to grant
 To simple swaine, sith her I may not love,
 Yet that I may her honour paravant,^h
 And praise her worth, though far my wit above.
 Such grace shall be some guerdon for the grieve,
 And long affliction which I have endured :
 Such grace sometimes shall give me some reliefe,
 And ease of paine which cannot be recured.

935

940

And ye, my fellow shepheards, which do see
 And hear the languours of my too long dying,
 Unto the world for ever witnesse bee,
 That hers I die, nought to the world denying

950

^h *I may her honour paravant.*] Publicly. The French *paravant*, however, is not, I believe, used in this sense. But see also F. Q. vi. x. 15 [vol. iv. p. 196]. Todd. In vol. ii. p. 368, we have stated our opinion that here “paravant” is to be construed *before all*. C.

66 COLIN CLOUT'S COME HOME AGAINE.

This fimple trophe of her great conquest."—

So having ended,ⁱ he from ground did rise;
And after him uprose eke all the rest:

All loth to part, but that the glooming skies

Warnd them to draw their bleating flocks to rest. 955

ⁱ *So having ended.*] Hence we learn (if "Colin Clout's come Home again" were really dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595, and not at the close of 1591, as it stands printed), that Spenser retained his love and his laudation of Rosalind to a late period of his life: it began before 1579, when his "Shepherd's Calendar" appeared, and the flame was by no means extinct at the date when Spenser originally wrote "Colin Clout's come Home again." It has been generally, and not without reason, supposed that the poet made additions to, and alterations in the poem not long before it was published in 1595. C.





ASTROPHEL.

A PASTORALL ELEGIE UPON THE DEATH OF
THE MOST NOBLE AND VALOROUS KNIGHT,
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

DEDICATED TO THE MOST BEAUTIFULL AND VERTUOUS LADIE,
THE COUNTESSE OF ESSEX.

*Shepherds, that wont on pipes of oaten reed
Oft times to plaine your loves concealed smart,
And with your piteous layes have learnd to breed
Compassion in a countrey lasses hart,
Hearken, ye gentle shepherds, to my song,
And place my dolefull plaint your plaints emong.*

*To you alone I sing this mournfull verse,
The mournfulst verse that ever man heard tell;
To you whose softened hearts it may empierse
With dolours dart for death of Astrophel:
To you I sing and to none other wight,
For well I wot my rymes bene rudely dight.*

*Yet as they been, if any nycer wit
Shall hap to heare, or covet them to read,
Thinke he, that such are for such ones most fit,
Made not to please the living, but the dead:
And if in him found pity ever place,
Let him be moov'd to pity such a case.*



GENTLE Shepheard, borne in Arcady,
Of gentlest race that ever shepheard bore,
About the grassie bancks of Hæmony,^a
Did keepe his sheep, his litle stock and
store :

Full carefully he kept them, day and night, 5
In fairest fields ; and Astrophel he hight.

Young Astrophel,^b the pride of shepheards praise,
Young Astrophel, the rusticke lasses love ;
Far passing all the pastors of his daies,
In all that seemly shepheard might behove : 10
In one thing onely fayling of the best,
That he was not so happie as the rest.

For from the time that first the Nymph his mother
Him forth did bring, and taught her lambs to feed,
A sclender swaine, excelling far each other, 15
In comely shape, like her that did him breed,
He grew up fast in goodnesse and in grace,
And doubly faire woxe both in mynd and face.

Which daily more and more he did augment,
With gentle usage and demeanure myld, 20
That all mens hearts with secret ravishment
He stole away, and weetingly beguyld :
Ne spight it selfe, that all good things doth spill,
Found ought in him that she could say was ill.

His sports were faire, his joyance innocent, 25
Sweet without fowre, and honny without gall ;

^a *bancks of Hæmony.*] Æmonia was an earlier name for Theffaly; but it has also been applied by some writers to the whole of Greece. C.

^b *Young Astrophel.*] Sometimes, and perhaps more properly, spelt Astrophil—a name which Sir Philip Sidney gave to himself, and that of Stella to Lady Rich, with whom he was at one time in love : see l. 55. C.

And he himfelfe feemd made for meriment,
Merily masking both in bowre and hall.
There was no pleafure, nor delightfull play,
When Aftrophel fo ever was away.

30

For he could pipe, and daunce, and caroll sweet,
Emongft the fhepheards in their fhearing feaft;
As Somers larke that with her fong doth greet
The dawning day forth comming from the Eaft.
And layes of love he alfo could compofe:
Thrife happie fhe whom he to praife did chofe!

35

Full many Maydens often did him woo,
Them to vouchsafe emongft his rimes to name,
Or make for them, as he was wont to doo
For her that did his heart with love inflame:
For which they promifed to dight for him
Gay chapelets of flowers and gyrlonds trim.

40

And many a Nymph, both of the wood and brooke,
Soone as his oaten pipe began to shrill,
Both chriftall wells and fhadie groves forfooke,
To heare the charmes of his enchanting skill;
And brought him presents, flowers if it were prime,
Or mellow fruit if it were harveft time.

45

But he for none of them did care a whit,
Yet wood Gods for them often fighed fore;
Ne for their gifts, unworthie of his wit,
Yet not unworthie of the countries ftore:
For one alone he cared, for one he fight,^c
His lifes defire, and his deare loves delight.

50

^c *for one he fight.*] i. e. *fighed*, Spenser's ordinary method of fpelling the paff tense of to *figh*: we have had it before in the fame form; but Todd, following the folio 1611, printed *figh't*. C.

Stella the faire, the fairest star in skie, 55
 As faire as Venus or the fairest faire,
 A fairer star saw never living eie,
 Shot her sharp pointed beames through purest aire :
 Her he did love, her he alone did honor,
 His thoughts, his rimes, his songs were all upon her. 60

To her he vowd the service of his daies,
 On her he spent the riches of his wit ;
 For her he made hymnes of immortall praise,
 Of onely her he sung, he thought, he writ.
 Her, and but her, of love he worthie deemed ; 65
 For all the rest but litle he esteemed.

Ne her with ydle words alone he wowed,
 And verses vaine, (yet verses are not vaine)
 But with brave deeds to her sole service vowed,
 And bold atchievements her did entertaine ; 70
 For both in deeds and words he nourtred was,
 Both wise and hardie, (too hardie, alas !)

In wrestling nimble, and in renning swift,^d
 In shooting steddie, and in swimming strong :
 Well made to strike, to throw, to leape, to lift, 75
 And all the sports that shepheards are emong :
 In every one he vanquisht every one ;
 He vanquisht all, and vanquisht was of none.

Besides, in hunting such felicitie,
 Or rather infelicitie, he found, 80
 That every field and forest far away
 He fought, where salvage beasts do most abound.
 No beast so salvage but he could it kill,
 No chace so hard but he therein had skill.

^d *in renning swift.*] The old form of *running*, to which the word was altered in the folio 1611. A. S. *rennan*. C.

Such skill, matcht with such courage as he had, 85
 Did prick him forth with proud desire of praise
 To seek abroad, of daunger nought y'drad,
 His mistresse name and his owne fame to raise.
 What needeth perill to be fought abroad,
 Since round about us it doth make abroad? 90

It fortun'd, as he that perilous game
 In forreine foyle pursued far away,
 Into a forest wide and waste he came,
 Where store he heard to be of salvage pray:
 So wide a forest and so waste as this, 95
 Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo is.^e

There his welwoven toyles, and subtil traines,
 He laid the brutish nation to enwrap:
 So well he wrought with practise and with paines,
 That he of them great troupes did soone entrap. 100
 Full happie man (misweening much) was hee,
 So rich a spoile within his power to fee.

Eftsoones, all heedlesse of his dearest hale,^f
 Full greedily into the heard he thrust,
 To slaughter them, and worke their finall bale, 105
 Least that his toyle should of their troupes be brust.^g

^e *Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo is.*] The forest of Ardenne has been celebrated by many poets and romance writers; and Spenser has himself spoken of Arlo and of Arlo Hill in C. vi. of "Mutability," vol. iv. p. 254, in no very favourable terms. C.

^f *of his dearest hale.*] *Welfare*, Sax. *hæl*, fanitas, salus. See Lye's "Sax. Dict." edit. Manning. Chaucer writes it *bele*. Todd. Spenser uses "hale" as an adjective in his "Shep. Cal." for July (vol. i. p. 84), where he says that his sheep "like well," i. e. *thrive*, and are "*bale* enough:" A. S. *hælan*, to heal. C.

^g *should of their troupes be brust.*] Such was Spenser's mode of writing *burst*, not merely for the sake of the rhyme, but because it was usual with him and other poets of the time. We need not point out instances; but the folios, and various other editions, have improperly altered "brust" to *burst*. Spenser has even "thrust" for *thirst*, when it better suited his purpose. C.

Wide wounds emongst them many one he made,
Now with his sharp borespear, now with his blade.

His care was all how he them all might kill,
That none might scape, (so partiall unto none :) 110
Ill mynd so much to mynd anothers ill,
As to become unmyndfull of his owne!
But pardon that unto the cruell skies,
That from himfelfe to them withdrew his eies.

So as he rag'd emongst that beastly rout, 115
A cruell beast of most accursed brood
Upon him turnd, (despeyre makes cowards stout)
And, with fell tooth,^h accustomed to blood,
Launched his thigh with so mischievous might,
That it both bone and muscles ryved quight. 120

So deadly was the dint and deep the wound,
And so huge streames of blood thereout did flow,
That he endured not the direfull stound,
But on the cold deare earth himfelfe did throw;
The whiles the captive heard his nets did rend, 125
And, having none to let, to wood did wend.

Ah! where were ye this while his shepheard peares,
To whom alive was nought so deare as hee?
And ye faire Mayds, the matches of his yeares,
Which in his grace did boast you most to bee? 130
Ah! where were ye, when he of you had need,
To stop his wound that wondrously did bleed?

^h *And, with fell tooth.*] Whetstone, in his account of the death of Sidney, 4to. 1587, likens the contest in which he was engaged to a hunt of savage beasts:—

“A hunting fight this skirmidge may be calde
Of eager dogges,” &c.

Regarding the wound he tells us—

“The wound was deepe and shivered the bone.” C.

Ah! wretched boy, the shape of dreryhead,
 And sad ensample of mans suddein end :
 Full litle faileth but thou shalt be dead,
 135 Unpitied, unplaynd of foe or frend!
 Whilest none is nigh thine eyelids up to close,
 And kisse thy lips like faded leaves of rose.

A fort of shepheards,ⁱ sewing of the chace,
 As they the forest raunged on a day,
 140 By fate or fortune came unto the place,
 Where as the lucklesse boy yet bleeding lay;
 Yet bleeding lay, and yet would still have bled,
 Had not good hap those shepheards thether led.

They stopt his wound, (too late to stop it was)
 145 And in their armes then softly did him reare :
 Tho (as he wild) unto his loved lasse,
 His dearest love, him dolefully did beare.
 The dolefulst biere that ever man did see
 Was Astrophel, but dearest unto mee.
 150

She, when she saw her Love in such a plight,
 With crudled blood and filthie gore deformed,
 That wont to be with flowers and gyrlonds dight,
 And her deare favours dearly well adorned ;
 Her face, the fairest face that eye mote see,
 155 She likewise did deforme, like him to bee.

Her yellow locks, that shone so bright and long
 As Sunny beames in fairest somers day,
 She fierfly tore, and with outrageous wrong
 From her red cheeks the roses rent away ;
 160 And her faire brest, the threasury of joy,
 She spoyld thereof, and filled with annoy.

ⁱ *A fort of shepheards, &c.*] i. e. A company of shepherds, as frequently before. See vol. iv. p. 176, &c. C.

His palled face, impietured with death,
 She bathed oft with teares and dried oft;
 And with sweet kisses suckt the waisting breath 165
 Out of his lips, like lillies pale and soft:
 And oft she cald to him, who answerd nought,
 But onely by his lookes did tell his thought.

The rest of her impatient regret,^k
 And piteous mone the which she for him made, 170
 No toong can tell, nor any forth can set,
 But he whose heart like sorrow did invade.
 At last, when paine his vitall powres had spent,
 His wasted life her weary lodge forwent.

Which when she saw, she staied not a whit, 175
 But after him did make untimely haste:
 Forth with her ghost out of her corps did flit,
 And followed her make like Turtle chaste:^l

^k *The rest of her impatient regret.*] Spenser has already employed the word "regret," in B. i. C. 7. of the F. Q. (vol. i. p. 289), and here again he uses it in the same way. Nevertheless, it is one of the words which Florio takes credit for introducing into our language from the French, in his translation of "Montaigne's Essays," fol. 1603: in his address "to the reader" he enumerates "uncouth" terms, such as he, for the first time, had obtained from the French: they are "entraine, conscientious, endeare, tarnish, comporte, efface, facilitate, amusing, debauching, regret, effort, emotion, and such like." Florio's claim to most, but not to all, of these seems to be well-founded. C.

^l *And followed her make like Turtle chaste.*] This seems an extraordinary licence on the part of the poet, because Lady Sidney survived her husband, Sir Philip, many years, and became the wife of his friend, the Earl of Essex: besides, this very poem is dedicated to Lady Essex after her second marriage. Spenser can only mean by the line,

"Forth her ghost out of her corps did flit,"

that she fainted or swooned away, and was afterwards revived. If Spenser, as indeed he says, meant Sidney's first love, Lady Rich, whom Sidney called Stella, he was still as much in error, because she, too, long survived Sidney, and subsequently married Mountjoy, Earl of Devon. These circumstances appear hitherto to have escaped remark. It is scarcely necessary to add that "make" and *mate* were often used synonymously by Spenser and his contemporaries: see vol. iii. p. 192, &c. C.

To prove that death their hearts cannot divide,
Which living were in love so firmly tide. 180

The Gods, which all things see, this fame beheld,
And, pittying this paire of lovers trew,
Transformed them, there lying on the field,
Into one flowre that is both red and blew :
It first growes red, and then to blew doth fade, 185
Like Astrophel, which thereinto was made.

And in the midst thereof a star appears,
As fairly formd as any star in skyes,
Resembling Stella in her freshest yeares,
Forth darting beames of beautie from her eyes ; 190
And all the day it standeth full of deow,
Which is the teares that from her eyes did flow.

That hearbe of some Starlight is cald by name,
Of others Penthia, though not so well ;
But thou, where ever thou doest find the fame, 195
From this day forth do call it Astrophel :
And when so ever thou it up doest take,
Do pluck it softly for that shepherds sake.

Hereof when tydings far abroad did passe,
The shepherds all, which loved him full deare, 200
And sure full deare of all he loved was,
Did thether flock to see what they did heare ;
And when that pitteous spectacle they vewed,
The fame with bitter teares they all bedewed.

And every one did make exceeding mone, 205
With inward anguish and great grieve opprest ;
And every one did weep and waile, and mone,
And meanes deviz'd to shew his sorrow best ;
That from that houre, since first on grassie greene
Shepherds kept sheep, was not like mourning seen. 210

But first his sister, that Clorinda hight,
 The gentlest shepherdesse that lives this day,
 And most resembling, both in shape and spright,
 Her brother deare, began this dolefull lay.
 Which, least I marre the sweetnesse of the vearse, 215
 In sort as she it sung I will rehearse.^m

AY me! to whomⁿ shall I my case complaine,
 That may compassion my impatient grieve?
 Or where shall I unfold my inward paine,
 That my enriuen heart may find reliefe?
 Shall I unto the heavenly powres it shew, 5
 Or unto earthly men that dwell below?

To heavens? ah! they, alas! the authors were,
 And workers of my unremedied wo;
 For they foresee what to us happens here,
 And they foresaw, yet suffred this be so: 10
 From them comes good, from them comes also il;
 That which they made, who can them warne to spill?

^m *In sort as she it sung I will rehearse.*] From this avowal I conclude that the following poem was not written by Spenser, but by the sister of Sir Philip, the accomplished Mary, Countess of Pembroke, here poetically called *Clarinda* [Clorinda]. We have already seen that she was particularly skilled in poetry: see "The Ruines of Time," ver. 316, and the note there [vol. iv. p. 307]. All the subsequent poems on the death of Sir Philip are evidently a collection brought together by Spenser. Todd. We may add here that in Davison's "Poetical Rhapsody," both in the edits. of 1602 and 1611, there is a Dialogue, in verse, to which the name of Mary, Countess of Pembroke is subjoined: it is "in praise of Aftrea," and is a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, though not avowedly so: the speakers are two shepherds—Piers and Thenot. It occupies pp. 23, 24, 25 of the edit. 1611. Ritson does not mention this "Lay of Clorinda." C.

ⁿ *Ay me! to whom, &c.*] In modern times it has been usual to head this effusion "The doleful Lay of Clorinda;" but it has no such title in any of the original impressions, and, in fact, it merely forms a sequel to the preceding stanzas. C.

To men? ah! they, alas! like wretched bee,
 And subject to the heavens ordinance;
 Bound to abide what ever they decree, 15
 Their best redresse is their best sufferance:
 How then can they, like wretched, comfort mee,
 The which no lesse need comforted to bee?

Then to my felfe will I my forrow mourne,
 Sith none alive like forrowfull remaines: 20
 And to my felfe my plaints shall back retourne,
 To pay their ufury with doubled paines.
 The woods, the hills, the rivers, shall resound
 The mournfull accent of my forrowes ground.

Woods, hills, and rivers, now are desolate, 25
 Sith he is gone the which them all did grace;
 And all the fields do waile their widow state,
 Sith death their fairest flowre did late deface:
 The fairest flowre in field that ever grew
 Was Astrophel; that was, we all may rew. 30

What cruell hand of curfed foe unknowne,
 Hath cropt the stalke which bore so faire a flowre;
 Untimely cropt, before it well were growne,
 And cleane defaced in untimely howre?
 Great losse to all that ever him did see,^o 35
 Great losse to all, but greatest losse to mee!

Breake now your gyrlonds, O ye shepheards lasses!
 Sith the faire flowre which them adornd is gon:
 The flowre which them adornd is gone to ashes,
 Never againe let lasse put gyrlond on. 40
 In stead of gyrlond, weare sad Cypres nowe,
 And bitter Elder, broken from the bowe.

^o *that ever him did see.*] "Did" is from the folio 1611: the first edit. is without this word, necessary both to metre and meaning. C.

Ne ever fing the love-layes which he made :
 Who ever made fuch layes of love as hee ?
 Ne ever read the riddles, which he fayd
 Unto your felves to make you mery glee :
 Your mery glee is now laid all abed,
 Your mery maker now, alaffe ! is dead.

45

Death, the devourer of all worlds delight,
 Hath robbed you, and reft fro me my joy :
 Both you and me, and all the world he quight
 Hath robd of joyance, and left sad annoy.
 Joy of the world, and fhepheards pride was hee !
 Shepheards, hope never like againe to fee.

50

Oh Death ! that haft us of fuch riches reft,
 Tell us, at leaft, what haft thou with it done ?
 What is become of him, whose flowre here left
 Is but the fhadow of his likeneffe gone ?
 Scarfe like the fhadow of that which he was,
 Nought like, but that he like a fhade did pas.

55

60

But that immortall fpirit, which was deckt
 With all the dowries of celeftiall grace,
 By foveraine choyce from th' heavenly quires felect,
 And lineally deriv'd from Angels race,
 O ! what is now of it become aread ?
 Ay me ! can fo divine a thing be dead ?

65

Ah ! no : it is not dead, ne can it die,
 But lives for aie, in blisfull Paradife ;
 Where like a new-borne babe it foft doth lie,
 In bed of lillies wrapt in tender wife ;
 And compaft all about with rofes sweet,
 And daintie violets from head to feet.

70

There thoufand birds, all of celeftiall brood,
 To him do sweetly caroll day and night ;

And with straunge notes, of him well understood, 75
 Lull him a sleep in Angelick delight ;
 Whilest in sweet dreame to him presented bee
 Immortall beauties, which no eye may see.

But he them sees, and takes exceeding pleasure
 Of their divine aspects, appearing plaine, 80
 And kindling love in him above all measure,
 Sweet love, still joyous, never feeling paine ;
 For what so goodly forme he there doth see,
 He may enjoy from jealous rancor free.

There liveth he in everlasting blis, 85
 Sweet spirit, never fearing more to die ;
 Ne dreading harme from any foes of his,
 Ne fearing salvage beasts more crueltie,
 Whilest we here, wretches, waile his private lack,
 And with vaine vowes do often call him back. 90

But live thou there, still happie, happie spirit !
 And give us leave thee here thus to lament ;
 Not thee that doest thy heavens joy inherit,
 But our owne selves that here in dole are drent.^p
 Thus do we weep and waile, and wear our eies, 95
 Mourning in others our owne miseries.

WHICH when she ended had, another swaine
 Of gentle wit and daintie sweet device,
 Whom Astrophel full deare did entertaine
 Whilest here he liv'd, and held in passing price,

^p *that here in dole are drent.*] *Drenched or drowned:* see vol. iii.
 p. 420, &c. C.

Hight Thestylis, began his mournfull tourne :
And made the Muses in his song to mourne.

5

And after him full many other moe,
As everie one in order lov'd him best,
Gan dight themselves t' expresse their inward woe
With dolefull lays, unto the time addrest :
The which I here in order will rehearse,
As fittest flowres to deck his mournfull hearse.

10





THE MOURNING MUSE OF THESTYLIS.^a



COME forth, ye Nymphes, come forth!
forfake your watry bowres,
Forfake your mossy caves, and help me
to lament:

Help me to tune my dolefull notes to
gurgling found
Of Liffies tumbling streames: Come, let salt teares of
ours,
Mix with his waters fresh. O come! let one consent 5
Joyne us to mourne with wailfull plaints the deadly wound
Which fatall clap hath made, decreed by higher powres.
The dreery day in which they have from us yrent
The noblest plant that might from East to West be found.

^a *The mourning Muse of Thestylis.*] In 1587 the following licence, among others, was granted by the Stationers' Company to John Wolf, printer, viz. "The mourning Muses of Lod. Brysket vpon the death of the most noble Sir Phillip Sydney knight &c." And, in a manuscript copy of this poem, preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace, the following poem is expressly given to Bryskett. Mr. Warton has supposed it, but clearly without authority, to be Spenser's. See his *Observations on the "Faer. Qu."* vol. i. p. 223. Bryskett, as I have shown in the *Life of the Poet*, was Spenser's friend. Todd. We may probably conclude that Thestylis, in "Colin Clout's come Home again," was meant for Lod. Bryskett. C.

Mourne, mourn, great Phillips fall, mourn we his wofull
end, 10

Whom spitefull death hath pluckt untimely from the tree,
Whiles yet his yeares in flowre did promise worthie frute.

Ah dreadful Mars! why didst thou not thy knight
defend?

What wrathfull mood, what fault of ours, hath moved
thee

Of such a shining light to leave us destitute? 15

Tho[u] with benigne aspect sometime didst us behold,

Thou hast in Britons valour tane delight of old,

And with thy presence oft vouchsafst to attribute

Fame and renowme to us for glorious martiall deeds.

But now thy ireful bemes^b have chill'd our harts with
cold; 20

Thou hast estrang'd thy self, and deignest not our land:

Farre off to others now thy favour honour breeds,

And high disdaine doth cause thee shun our clime, (I feare;)

For hadst thou not bene wroth, or that time neare at hand,

Thou wouldst have heard the cry that wofull England
made; 25

Eke Zeland's piteous plaints, and Hollands toren heare,^c

Would haply have appeas'd thy divine angry mynd:

Thou shouldst have seen the trees refuse to yeeld their
shade,

And wailing to let fall the honor of their head;

And birds in mournfull tunes lamenting in their kinde. 30

Up from his tombe the mightie Corineus rose,

^b *But now thy ireful bemes.*] All old editions read "*their* ireful beames," but it is a decided misprint, and so it has usually been treated; but if *their* be amended to "*thy*," it is right to inform the reader of the variation, which has not always been done in modern reprints. C.

^c *and Hollands toren beare.*] So *hair* was sometimes written for the rhyme; but although here necessary on that account, it is printed *haire* in the folio 1611: "toren" was required in order to make the word *torn* two syllables. C.

Who curfing oft the fates that this mishap had bred,
 His hoary locks he tare, calling the heavens unkinde.
 The Thames was heard to roare, the Reyne and eke the
 Mofe,

The Schald, the Danow felfe, this great mifchance did
 rue

35

With torment and with grief: their fountains pure and
 cleere

Were troubled, and with fwelling flouds declar'd their
 woes.

The Mufes comfortles, the Nymphs with paled hue,
 The Silvan Gods likewife, came running farre and neere,
 And all with teares bedewd, and eyes caft up on hie; 40
 O help, O help, ye Gods! they ghastly gan to crie.

O! chaunge the cruell fate of this fo rare a wight,
 And graunt that natures courfe may meafure out his age.
 The beafts their foode forfooke, and trembling fearfully,
 Each fought his cave or den, this cry did them fo fright.
 Out from amid the waves, by ftorme then ftirr'd to rage,
 This crie did caufe to rife th' old father Ocean hoare, 47
 Who, grave with eld, and full of majestie in fight,
 Spake in this wife. "Refrain (quoth he) your teares
 and plaints,

Cease thefe your idle words; make vaine requests no
 more.

50

No humble fpeech, nor mone, may move the fixed ftint
 Of deftinie or death: Such is his will that paints
 The earth with colours fresh, the darkeft fkies with ftore
 Of ftarry lights: and though your teares a hart of flint
 Might tender make, yet nought herein they will pre-
 vaile."

55

Whiles thus he faid, the noble knight, who gan to feele
 His vitall force to faint, and death with cruell dint
 Of direfull dart his mortall bodie to affaile,
 With eyes lift up to heav'n, and courage franke as Steele,

With cheerfull face, where valour lively was exprest, 60
 But humble mynd, he said. "O Lord! if ought this fraile
 And earthly carcasſe have thy ſervice fought t' aduance;
 If my deſire have bene ſtill to relieve th' oppreſt;
 If Juſtice to maintaine that valour I have ſpent
 Which thou me gav'ſt; or if henceforth I might ad-
 vance 65

Thy name, thy truth, then ſpare me (Lord) if thou
 think beſt,

Forbeare theſe unripe yeares. But if thy will be bent,
 If that prefixed time be come which thou haſt ſet;
 Through pure and fervent faith I hope now to be plaſt
 In th' everlaſting blis, which with thy precious blood 70
 Thou purchaſe didſt for us." With that a ſigh he fet,^d
 And ſtraight a cloudie miſt his ſences overcaſt;
 His lips waxt pale and wan, like damaſke roſes bud
 Caſt from the ſtalke, or like in field to purple flowre,
 Which languiſheth being ſhred by culter as it paſt. 75
 A trembling chilly cold ran throgħ their veines, which
 were

With eies brimfull of teares to ſee his fatall howre,
 Whoſe bluſtring ſighes at firſt their ſorrow did declare;
 Next, murmuring enfude; at laſt they not forbeare
 Plaine outcries, all againſt the heav'ns that enviouſly 80
 Depriv'd us of a ſpright ſo perfect and ſo rare.
 The Sun his lightſom beames did ſhrowd, and hide his
 face

For grieve, whereby the earth feard night eternally:
 The mountaines eachwhere ſhooke, the rivers turn'd
 their ſtreames,

And th' aire gan, winterlike, to rage and fret apace: 85
 And griſly ghosťs by night were ſeene, and fierie gleames,
 Amid the clouds with claps of thunder, that did ſeeme

^d *With that a ſigh he fet.*] i. e. *fetch'd*: ſee vol. iii. p. 344: A. S. *ſetian*. C.

To rent the skies, and made both man and beast afeard.
 The birds of ill presage this lucklesse chance foretold,
 By dernfull noise;^e and dogs with howling made man
 deeme 90

Some mischief was at hand: for such they do esteeme
 As tokens of mishap, and so have done of old.

Ah! that thou hadst but heard his lovely Stella plaine
 Her greivous losse, or seene her heavie mourning cheere,
 While she, with woe oppress'd, her sorrowes did unfold! 95
 Her haire hung loose, neglect, about her shoulders twaine;
 And from those two bright starres, to him sometime so
 deere

Her heart sent drops of pearle, which fell in foyson
 downe^f

Twixt lilly and the rose. She wroong her hands with
 paine,

And piteously gan say, "My true and faithfull pheere,
 Alas, and woe is me! why should my fortune frowne 101
 On me thus frowardly to rob me of my joy?"

What cruell envious hand hath taken thee away,
 And with thee my content, my comfort, and my stay?
 Thou onelie wast the ease of trouble and annoy, 105
 When they did me assaile; in thee my hopes did rest.

Alas! what now is left but grief, that night and day
 Afflicts this wofull life, and with continuall rage
 Torments ten thousand waies my miserable brest?
 O greedie envious heav'n! what needed thee to have 110
 Enricht with such a Jewell this unhappie age,
 To take it back againe so soone? Alas! when shall

^e By *dernfull noise*.] "Dernfull" is *dismal* or *melancholy*, from *dern*, A. S. *dyrran*, *occultare*. Richardson has "dernfull," but gives no example of its use. See F. Q. vol. ii. p. 342, &c. C.

^f *which fell in foyson downe*.] "Foyson" always means *abundance*, *plenty*; but the etymology is disputed, whether from the Lat. *fusio*, or from the Dutch *fassen*. C.

Mine eies see ought that may content them, since thy
grave

My onely treasure hides, the joyes of my poore heart?
As here with thee on earth I liv'd, even so equall 115
Me thinkes it were with thee in heav'n I did abide:
And as our troubles all we here on earth did part,
So reason would that there of thy most happie state
I had my share. Alas! if thou my trustie guide
Were wont to be, how canst thou leave me thus alone
In darknesse and astray; weake, wearie, desolate, 121
Plung'd in a world of woe, refusing for to take
Me with thee to the place of rest where thou art gone?"
This said, she held her peace, for sorrow tide her toong;
And, instead of more words, seemd that her eies a lake 125
Of teares had bene, they flow'd so plenteously therefro;
And with her sobs and sighs th' aire round about her
roong.

If Venus, when she waild her deare Adonis flaine,
Ought moov'd in thy fiers hart compassion of her woe,
His noble sisters plaints, her sighes and teares emong, 130
Would sure have made thee milde, and inly rue her paine:
Aurora halfe so faire her selfe did never show,
When from old Tithons bed shee weeping did arise.
The blinded archer-boy, like larke in showre of raine,
Sat bathing of his wings, and glad the time did spend 135
Under those cristall drops which fell from her faire eies;
And at their brightest beames him proynd in lovely wife:⁸
Yet forie for her grief, which he could not amend,
The gentle boy gan wipe her eies, and clear those lights,
Those lights through which his glory and his conquests
shine. 140

⁸ *him proynd in lovely wife.*] "Proynd" is the old form of *prun'd*, and was pretty constantly used anterior to the time of Spenser: he, however, has *prune* (F. Q. vol. iii. p. 138), in reference to the operation of a bird setting straight her "disfigured feathers." Tyrwhitt derives "proine" and *prune* from the Fr. *provigner*: see also p. 92, l. 24. C.

The Graces tuckt her hair, which hung, like threds of
gold,

Along her yvorie brest, the treasure of delights.

All things with her to weep, it seemed, did encline,

The trees, the hills, the dales, the caves, the stones so
cold.

The aire did help them mourne, with dark clouds, raine,
and mist, 145

Forbearing many a day to cleare it selfe againe ;

Which made them eftsoones feare the daies of Pirrha
shold

Of creatures spoile the earth, their fatall threds untwist :

For Phœbus gladsome raies were wished for in vaine,

And with her quivering light Latonas daughter faire, 150

And Charles-waine eke refus'd to be the shipmans guide.

On Neptune warre was made by Aeolus and his traine,

Who, letting loose the winds, tost and tormented th' aire,

So that on ev'ry coast men shipwrack did abide,

Or else were swallowed up in open sea with waves, 155

And such as came to shoare were beaten with despaire.

The Medwaies silver streames, that wont so still to slide,

Were troubled now and wrothe ; whose hidden hollow
caves,

Along his banks, with fog then shrowded from man's eye,

Ay Phillip did resownd ; aie Phillip ! they did crie. 160

His Nymphs were seen no more (thogh custom stil it
craves)

With haire spred to the wynd themselves to bath or sport,

Or with the hooke or net, barefooted, wantonly,

The pleasant daintie fish to entangle or deceive.

The shepheards left their wonted places of resort, 165

Their bagpipes now were still ; their loving mery layes

Were quite forgot : and now their flocks men might
perceive

To wander and to straie, all carelesly neglect.

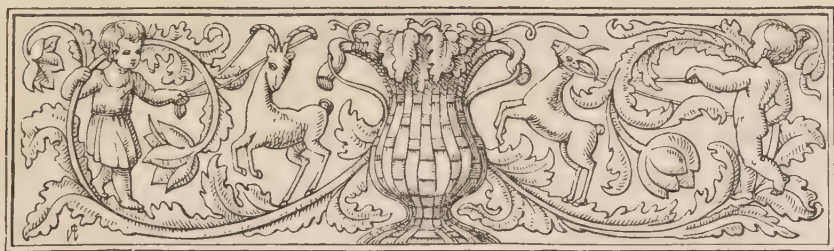
And, in the stead of mirth and pleasure, nights and dayes
Nought els was to be heard but woes, complaints, and
mone. 170

But thou (O blessed soule!) doest haply not respect
These teares we shed, though full of loving pure affect,
Having affixt thine eyes on that most glorious throne,
Where full of majestie the high Creator reignes;
In whose bright shining face thy joyes are all complete,
Whose love kindles thy spright; where, happie alwaies
one, 176

Thou liv'st in blis that earthly passion never stains;
Where from the purest spring the sacred Nectar sweete
Is thy continuall drinke; where thou doest gather now
Of well employed life th' inestimable gaines. 180
There Venus on thee smiles, Apollo gives thee place,
And Mars in reverent wise doth to thy vertue bow,
And decks his fiery sphere to do thee honour most.
In highest part whereof, thy valour for to grace,
A chaire of gold he setts to thee, and there doth tell 185
Thy noble acts arew;^h whereby even they that boast
Themselves of auncient fame, as Pirrhus, Hanniball,
Scipio, and Cæsar, with the rest that did excell
In martiall prowesse, high thy glorie do admire.

All haile, therefore, O worthie Phillip immortall! 190
The flowre of Sydneys race, the honour of thy name!
Whose worthie praise to sing my Muses not aspire,
But sorrowfull and sad these teares to let thee fall;
Yet wish their verses might so farre and wide thy fame
Extend, that envies rage, nor time, might end the fame.

^h *Thy noble acts arew.*] On a row, or one after the other: see vol. ii. p. 450; vol. iii. p. 380, &c. C.



A PASTORALL AEGLOGUE^a

UPON THE DEATH OF SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY,
KNIGHT, ETC.

LYCON. COLIN.^b



COLIN, well fits thy sad cheare this sad
frownd,

This wofull frownd, wherein all things
complaine

This great mishap, this greevous losse of
owres.

Hear'st thou the Orowne? how with hollow fownd

^a *A pastorall Aeglogue, &c.*] The signature to this poem is L. B., that is, Lodowick Bryskett. Mr. Warton's conjecture, that *Lord Brooke* might be the person designed by those initials, cannot, I believe, be supported. Mr. Warton, however, concedes that L. B. may signify the author's name, as in the poem we have neither the perspicuity nor the harmony of *Spenser*. TODD. It does not seem likely that Lod. Bryskett would write or Spenser print two poems by the same man on the same subject; but we cannot plausibly assign the initials L. B. to any other poet of that period. Ritson does not mention this "Pastoral Eclogue" as by Bryskett, though he gives him "The Mourning Muse of Thestylis." It must be admitted that this Eclogue is much in the style and strain of the preceding poem. C.

^b *Lycon. Colin.*] Lycon is the writer, and Colin, as usual, Spenser. Lod. Bryskett, in his prose "Discourse of Civil Life," not printed till 1606, made Spenser one of the persons holding the Dialogue. We shall see hereafter that Spenser especially names Bryskett in one of his Sonnets, which mentions "the Fairy Queen." C.

He slides away, and murmuring doth plaine, 5
 And seemes to say unto the fading flowres,
 Along his bankes, unto the bared trees,
 Phillifides is dead. Up, jolly swaine,
 Thou that with skill canst tune a dolefull lay,
 Help him to mourn. My hart with grief doth freefe, 10
 Hoarse is my voice with crying, else a part
 Sure would I beare, though rude: But, as I may,
 With sobs and sighes I second will thy song,
 And so expresse the sorrowes of my hart.

COLIN. Ah Lycon, Lycon! what need skill, to teach
 A grieved mynd powre forth his plaints? how long 16
 Hath the pore Turtle gon to school (weenest thou)
 To learne to mourne her lost make? No, no; each
 Creature by nature can tell how to waile.
 Seest not these flocks, how sad they wander now? 20
 Seemeth their leaders bell their bleating tunes
 In dolefull found. Like him, not one doth faile
 With hanging head to shew a heaue cheere:
 What bird (I pray thee) hast thou seen, that prunes
 Himselfe of late? did any cheerfull note 25
 Come to thine eares, or glad some sight appeare
 Unto thine eies, since that same fatall howre?
 Hath not the aire put on his mourning coat,
 And testified his grief with flowing teares?
 Sith, then, it seemeth each thing to his powre 30
 Doth us invite to make a sad confort,
 Come, let us joyne our mournfull song with theirs.
 Griefe will endite, and sorrow will enforce
 Thy voice, and eccho will our words report.

LYCON. Though my rude rymes ill with thy verses
 frame, 35
 That others farre excell, yet will I force
 My selfe to answere thee the best I can,
 And honor my base words with his high name.

DEATH OF SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY. 91

But if my plaints annoy thee where thou sit
In secret shade or cave, vouchsafe (O Pan) 40
To pardon me, and here this sad constraint
With patience while I sing, and pittie it.
And eke, ye rurall Muses, that do dwell
In these wilde woods, if ever piteous plaint
We did endite, or taught a wofull minde 45
With words of pure affect his grieve to tell,
Instruct me now. Now, Colin, then, goe on,
And I will follow thee, though farre behinde.

COLIN. Phillisides is dead. O harmfull death!
O deadly harme! Unhappie Albion, 50
When shalt thou see, emong thy shepheards all,
Any so sage, so perfect? Whom uneath
Envie could touch for vertuous life and skill;
Curteous, valiant, and liberall.
Behold the sacred Pales, where, with haire 55
Untruff, she fitts in shade of yonder hill.
And her faire face, bent sadly downe, doth send
A flood of teares to bathe the earth; and there
Doth call the heav'ns despightfull, envious:
Cruell his fate, that made so short an end 60
Of that same life, well worthie to have bene
Prolongd with many yeares, happie and famous.
The Nymphs and Oreades her round about
Do sit lamenting on the grassie grene;
And with shrill cries, beating their whitest breasts, 65
Accuse the direfull dart that death sent out
To give the fatall stroke. The starres they blame,
That deafe or carelesse seeme at their request.
The pleasant shade of stately groves they shun;
They leave their cristall springs, where they wont frame
Sweet bowres of Myrtel twigs and Lawrel faire, 71
To sport themselves free from the scorching Sun,
And now the hollow caves, where horror darke

Doth dwell, whence banisht is the gladsome aire,
 They seeke; and there in mourning spend their time 75
 With wailfull tunes, whiles wolves do howle and barke,
 And seem to beare a bourdon^c to their plaint.

LYCON. Phillifides is dead. O dolefull ryme!
 Why should my toong expresse thee? who is left
 Now to uphold thy hopes, when they do faint, 80
 Lycon unfortunate? What spitefull fate,
 What lucklesse destinie, hath thee bereft
 Of thy chief comfort; of thy onely stay?
 Where is become thy wonted happie state,
 (Alas!) wherein through many a hill and dale, 85
 Through pleasant woods, and many an unknowne way,
 Along the bankes of many silver streames,
 Thou with him yodest?^d and with him didst scale
 The craggie rocks of th' Alpes and Appenine,
 Still with the Muses sporting, while those beames 90
 Of vertue kindled in his noble brest,
 Which after did so gloriously forth shine.
 But (woe is me!) they now yquenched are
 All fuddeinly, and death hath them opprest.
 Loe! father Neptune, with sad countenance, 95
 How he fitts mourning on the strond now bare,
 Yonder, where th' Ocean with his rolling waves

^c *And seem to beare a bourdon.*] "Bourdon" is an old form of *burden*, and Chaucer also spells it *burdon*: it means the *weight*, or continuation of a song which has been given by another person. It is sometimes written and printed *burthen*; but it may be a word derived from the found, and Tyrwhitt states that it is "a humming noise; the bass in music." In this place, in the 4to., it is spelt "bourdon," but in the folio it is *burden*. Richardson in his Dict. attributes this poem to Spenser, and not to L. Bryskett, to whom, on the whole, it must be assigned. C.

^d *Thou with him yodest.*] "Yodest" is the second person of the past tense of *yode*, to go: "thou with him *wentest*." Spenser has the verb in various forms, (vol. i. p. 107; vol. ii. p. 40, &c.) and "yode" is only *gode* or *go-ed*, the *g* having been changed to *y*, or the *y* to *g*. Hence we learn, perhaps, that Bryskett had travelled with Sidney in Italy. C.

The white feete washeth (wailing this mischance)
 Of Dover cliffes. His sacred skirt about
 The sea-gods all are set; from their moist caves 100
 All for his comfort gathered there they be:
 The Thamis rich, the Humber rough and stout,
 The fruitfull Severne, with the rest, are come
 To helpe their Lord to mourne, and eke to see
 The dolefull sight, and sad pomp funerall, 105
 Of the dead corps passing through his kingdome.
 And all their heads, with Cypres gyrlonds crown'd,
 With wofull shrikes salute him, great and small:
 Eke wailfull Eccho, forgetting her deare
 Narcissus, their last accents doth resownd. 110

COLIN. Phillisides is dead. O lucklesse age!
 O widow world! O brookes and fountains cleere!
 O hills, O dales, O woods! that oft have rong
 With his sweet caroling, which could asswage
 The fiercest wrath of Tygre or of Beare. 115
 Ye Silvans, Fawnes, and Satyres, that emong
 These thickets oft have daunst after his pipe;
 Ye Nymphs and Nayades with golden heare,
 That oft have left your purest cristall springs
 To harken to his layes, that coulden wipe 120
 Away all grieve and sorrow from your harts,
 Alas! who now is left that like him sings?
 When shall you heare againe like harmonie?
 So sweet a sounnd who to you now imparts?
 Loe! where engraved by his hand yet lives 125
 The name of Stella in yonder bay tree.
 Happie name! happie tree! faire may you grow,
 And spread your sacred branch, which honor gives
 To famous Emperours, and Poets crowne.
 Unhappie flock, that wander scattred now, 130
 What marvell if through grief ye woxen leane,
 Forfake your food, and hang your heads adowne,

For such a shepheard never shall you guide,
Whose parting hath of weale bereft you cleane.

LYCON. Phillifides is dead. O happie sprite, 135
That now in heav'n with blessed foules doest bide!
Looke down a while from where thou sitst above,
And see how busie shepheards be to endite
Sad songs of grief, their sorrowes to declare,
And gratefull memory of their kynd love. 140
Behold my selfe, with Colin, gentle swaine,
(Whose lerned Muse thou cherisht most whyleare,)
Where we, thy name recording, seeke to ease
The inward torment, and tormenting paine,
That thy departure to us both hath bred, 145
Ne can each others sorrow yet appease.
Behold the fountains, now left desolate,
And withred grasse with Cypres boughes bespred;^e
Behold these floures which on thy grave we strew;
Which, faded, shew the giver's faded state, 150
(Though eke they shew their fervent zeale and pure)
Whose only comfort on thy welfare grew.
Whose praiers importune shall the heav'ns for ay,
That to thy ashes rest they may assure:
That learnedst shepheards honor may thy name 155
With yeerly praises, and the Nymphs alway
Thy tomb may deck with fresh and sweetest flowres;
And that for ever may endure thy fame.

COLIN. The Sun (lo!) hastned hath his face to steep
In western waves; and th' aire with stormy showres 160
Warnes us to drive homewards our silly sheep:
Lycon, lett's rise, and take of them good keep.

Virtute summa: cætera fortuna.

L. B.

^e *with Cypres boughes bespred.*] Todd printed "bespred" as if it were two words—*be spred*: such is not the case in any of the old copies; but still the point would hardly be worth noticing if it had not misled all subsequent editors. C.



AN ELEGIE,^a OR FRIENDS PASSION, FOR HIS ASTROPHILL.

*Written upon the death of the right Honourable SIR PHILIP SIDNEY,
Knight, Lord governour of Flushing.*



S then, no winde at all there blew,
No swelling cloude accloid the aire;
The skie, like glasse of watchet hew,^b
Reflected Phœbus golden haire;
The garnisht tree no pendant stird, 5
No voice was heard of anie bird.

^a *An Elegie, &c.*] This poem was written by Matthew Roydon, as we are informed in Nash's Preface to Greene's "Arcadia," and in "Engl. Parnassus." "The Phoenix Nest, set forth by R. S. of the Inner Temple, Gentleman," 4to. 1593, commences also with "An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill," &c. TODD. Todd refers to "Nash's Preface to Greene's Arcadia," but it was originally called Greene's "Menaphon," in 1587, and until the title was altered to take advantage of the popularity of Sidney's "Arcadia." Nash's words respecting Roydon are these: "He hath shewed himselfe singular in the immortal epitaph of his beloved Astrophell, besides many other absolute comicke inventions." These "comic inventions" have not survived; and, excepting two commendatory sonnets, nothing more by Roydon is known. He was a person of such importance in 1594 and 1595, that Chapman dedicated two of his productions to him. How Roydon fell into poverty afterwards we cannot ascertain; but Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College, enters in his Diary twice, that he had relieved Matthew Roydon by giving him 6*d.* and 8*d.* in 1622. "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," published by the Shakespeare Society in 1841, p. 155. C.

^b *The skie, like glasse of watchet hew.*] "Watchet" was light blue;

There might you see the burly Beare,
 The Lion king, the Elephant;
 The maiden Unicorne was there,
 So was Acteons horned plant, 10
 And what of wilde or tame are found
 Were coucht in order on the ground.

Alcides speckled poplar tree,
 The palme that Monarchs do obtaine,
 With love-juice stained the mulberie, 15
 The fruit that dewes the Poets braine;
 And Phillis philbert there away,
 Comparede with mirtle and the bay.

The tree that coffins doth adorne,
 With statly height threatning the skie; 20
 And, for the bed of Love forlorne,
 The blacke and dolefull Ebonie;
 All in a circle compast were,
 Like to an Ampitheater.

Upon the branches of those trees 25
 The airie winged people fat,
 Distinguished in od degrees,
 One fort is this, another that,
 Here Philomell, that knowes full well
 What force and wit in love doth dwell. 30

The skiebred Egle, roiall bird,
 Percht there upon an oke above;

but, inasmuch as "grafs" is never blue, we must read "glasse" for *grafs*. We are supported in this emendation by the copy of the "Elegie," printed in "The Phoenix Nest," 1593, where, however, it is anonymous: there "glasse" is substituted for *grasse*. In "The Two Gent. of Verona," A. iv. Sc. 4, it seems that *glafs* has there been misprinted for "grafs." C.

The Turtle by him never fird,
Example of immortall love.

The swan that sings about to dy,
Leaving Meander, stood thereby. 35

And that which was of woonder most,
The Phœnix left sweet Arabie;
And, on a Cædar in this coast,
Built up her tombe of spicerie, 40
As I conjecture, by the same
Preparde to take her dying flame.

In midst and center of this plot,
I saw one groveling on the grasse:
A man or stone, I knew not that;
No stone; of man the figure was, 45
And yet I could not count him one,
More than the image made of stone.

At length I might perceive him reare
His bodie on his elbow end: 50
Earthly and pale with ghastly cheare,
Upon his knees he upward tend,
Seeming like one in uncouth found,
To be ascending out the ground.

A grievous sigh forthwith he throwes, 55
As might have torne the vitall strings;
Then down his cheeks the teares so flows,
As doth the streame of many springs.
So thunder rends the cloud in twaine,
And makes a passage for the raine. 60

Incontinent, with trembling found
He wofully gan to complaine;

Such were the accents as might wound,
 And teare a diamond rocke in twaine :
 After his throbs did somewhat stay,
 Thus heavily he gan to fay.

65

O funne! (said he, seeing the funne)^c
 On wretched me why dost thou shine,
 My star is false, my comfort done,
 Out is the apple of my eye;
 Shine upon those possesse delight,
 And let me live in endlesse night.^d

70

O griefe! that liest upon my soule
 As hevie as a mount of lead,
 The remnant of my life controll;
 Confort me quickly with the dead:
 Halfe of this hart, this sprite, and will,
 Dide in the brest of Astrophill.

75

And you, compassionate of my wo,
 Gentle birds, beasts, and shadie trees,
 I am assurde ye long to know
 What be the sorrowes me agreev's;
 Listen ye then to that insu'th,
 And heare a tale of teares and ruthe.

80

You knew,—who knew not Astrophill?
 (That I should live to say I knew,

85

^c *O funne! (said he, seeing the funne).]* The parenthesis in the old impression only includes "said he," but "seeing the funne" must also belong to it: it is no part of the man's speech: this change is from the copy in 'The Phoenix Nest,' 1593. Some editors, following the folio 1611, have left out the parenthesis altogether. C.

^d *And let me live in endlesse night.]* Todd reprinted "in endlesse might" from the 4to. 1595, which is nonsense; whereas in "The Phoenix Nest," and in every other old authority, *might* is amended to "night." C.

And have not in possession still !)
 Things knowne permit me to renew
 Of him : you know his merit such,
 I cannot say, you heare, too much. 90

Within these woods of Arcadie
 He chiefe delight and pleasure tooke ;
 And on the mountaine Parthenie,
 Upon the chryftall liquid brooke,
 The Muses met him ev'ry day, 95
 That taught him sing, to write, and say.

When he descended downe to the mount,
 His personage seemed most divine,
 A thousand graces one might count,
 Upon his lovely cheerfull eie ; 100
 To heare him speake and sweetly smile,
 You were in Paradife the while.

A sweet attractive kinde of grace,
 A full assurance given by lookes,
 Continuall comfort in a face, 105
 The lineaments of Gospell bookes,
 I trowe, that countenance cannot lie
 Whose thoughts are legible in the eie.

Was never eie did see that face,^e
 Was never eare did heare that tong, 110
 Was never minde did minde his grace,
 That ever thought the travell long ;
 But eies, and eares, and ev'ry thought,
 Were with his sweete perfections caught.

^e *Was never eie did see that face.*] So "The Phoenix Nest," and the folio 1611 ; but the 4to. 1595 reads, "Was ever eie," &c. There can be no doubt which is right. C.

O God! that such a worthy man,
 In whom so rare defarts did raigne,
 Desired thus, must leave us than,
 And we to wish for him in vaine.
 O! could the stars, that bred that wit,
 In force no longer fixed sit?

115

120

Then, being fild with learned dew,
 The Muses willed him to love:
 That instrument can aptly shew,
 How finely our conceits will move;
 As Bacchus opes dissembled harts,
 So Love sets out our better parts.^f

125

Stella, a Nymph within this wood,
 Most rare and rich of heavenly blis,
 The highest in his fancie stood,
 And she could well demerite this:
 Tis likely they acquainted soone;
 He was a Sun, and she a Moone.

130

Our Astrophill did Stella love:
 O Stella! vaunt of Astrophill,
 Albeit thy graces gods may move,
 Where wilt thou finde an Astrophill?
 The rose and lillie have their prime,
 And so hath beautie but a time.

135

Although thy beautie do exceed,
 In common fight of ev'ry eie,
 Yet in his Poesies when we reede,
 It is apparant more thereby,

140

^f *So Love sets out our better parts.*] This couplet is quoted in "England's Parnassus," 1600, p. 180, where it is properly assigned to "M. Roydon." C.

He that hath love, and judgement too,
Sees more than any other doo.

Then, Astrophill hath honord thee ;
For when thy bodie is extinct,
Thy graces shall eternall be,
And live by virtue of his inke ;
For by his verses he doth give
The short livde beautie aye to live.

Above all others this is hee,
Which erst approoved in his song,
That love and honor might agree,
And that pure love will do no wrong.
Sweet faints, it is no finne or blame
To love a man of vertuous name.

Did never love so sweetly breath
In any mortall brest before,
Did never Muse inspire beneath
A Poet's braine with finer store :
He wrote of love with high conceit,
And beautie reard above her height.

Then, Pallas afterward attyrde
Our Astrophill with her device,
Whom in his armor heaven admyrde,
As of the nation of the skies ;
He sparkled in his armes afarrs
As he were dight with fierie starrs.

The blaze whereof when Mars beheld,
(An envious eie doth see afar)
Such majestie (quoth he) is feeld,
Such majestie my mart may mar ;

Perhaps this may a futer be,
To fet Mars by his deitie.

In this furmize he made with speede 175
An iron cane, wherein he put
The thunder that in cloudes do breede;^g
The flame and bolt together fhut
With privie force burft out againe,
And fo our Astrophill was flaine. 180

His word (was flaine!) ftraightway did move
And natures inward life ftrings twitch;
The fkie immediately above
Was dimd with hideous clouds of pitch,
The wraftling winds from out the ground 185
Fild all the aire with ratling found.

The bending trees exprest a grone,
And figh'd the forrow of his fall;
The forreft beafts made ruthfull mone,
The birds did tune their mourning call, 190
And Philomell for Astrophill
Unto her notes annext a phill.

The Turtle dove with tunes of ruthe
Shewd feeling paffion of his death;
Me thought fhe faid, I tell thee truthe, 195
Was never he that drew in breath,
Unto his love more trustie found,
Than he for whom our griefs abound.

The fwan, that was in prefence heere,
Began his funerall dirge to fing; 200

^g *The thunder that in cloudes do breede.*] So the 4to. 1595 and "The Phoenix Nest" 1593; but the folio more correctly alters "do" to *doth*. Perhaps Roydon confidered "thunder" plural. C.

Good things (quoth he) may scarce appeere,
 But passe away with speedie wing :
 This mortall life as death is tride,
 And death gives life ; and so he di'de.

The generall sorrow that was made, 205
 Among the creatures of kinde,^h
 Fired the Phœnix where she laide,
 Her ashes flying with the winde,
 So as I might with reason see
 That such a Phœnix nere should bee. 210

Haply the cinders, driven about,
 May breede an offspring neere that kinde,
 But hardly a peere to that, I doubt :
 It cannot finke into my minde,
 That under branches ere can beeⁱ 215
 Of worth and value as the tree.

The Egle markt with pearcing fight
 The mournfull habite of the place,
 And parted thence with mounting flight,
 To fignifie to Jove the case, 220
 What sorrow nature doth sustaine,
 For Astrophill by envie flaine.

^h *Among the creatures of kinde.*] "Creatures" was of old a tri-syllable, and so the poet treated it, as is apparent not only from the original edition, but from "The Phœnix Nest," which agrees in the text ; the folio 1611 added "each"—"the creatures of *each* kind ;" but quite needlessly, and we reject the word : "the creatures of kind" are the creatures of *nature*, "kind" being here, as in many other places, used as the synonyme of *nature*. C.

ⁱ *That under branches ere can bee.*] "The Phœnix Nest" 1593, and the folio 1611, put a hyphen between "under" and "branches"—perhaps rightly ; but it may be understood, and it is not found in the 4to. Variations of this description are frequent, and seem to have been often left to the old compositor. C.

And, while I followed with mine eie
 The flight the Egle upward tooke,
 All things did vanish by and by, 225
 And disappeared from my looke;
 The trees, beasts, birds, and grove was gone,
 So was the friend that made this mone.

This spectacle had firmly wrought,
 A deepe compassion in my spright; 230
 My molting hart issude, me thought,
 In streames forth at mine eies aright:
 And here my pen is forst to shrinke,
 My teares discollor so mine inke.^k

^k *My teares discollor so mine inke.*] The verb is in the singular in the editions of 1593 and 1595, but not afterwards. It was either a grammatical blunder of the compositor, or his ear brought the letter *f* from the word which followed to the word which preceded. C.





AN EPITAPH UPON THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY,

Knight ; Lord governor of Flushing.^a



O praise thy life, or waile thy worthie death,
And want thy wit, thy wit high, pure,
divine,
Is far beyond the powre of mortall line,
Nor any one hath worth that draweth
breath.

Yet rich in zeale, though poore in learnings lore, 5
And friendly care obscurde in secret brest,
And love that envie in thy life supprest,
Thy deere life done, and death hath doubled more.

And I, that in thy time and living state,
Did onely praise thy vertues in my thought, 10

^a *Lord governor of Flushing.*] Such is the title in the edition of 1595, as well as in "The Phoenix Nest," two years earlier; and no editor has ever discovered who was the author of verses, which have been much disparaged, but which would doubtless have been as loudly praised had it been known, as the fact certainly is, that they were written by Sir Walter Raleigh. We have stated the indisputable evidence upon this interesting point in our "Life of Spenser," and it is not necessary to repeat it here. Like the preceding "Elegy" by Lodowick Brykett, Raleigh's "Epitaph," and "Another of the same," which follows it, first appeared in "The Phoenix Nest" in 1593; and they were appended to Spenser's "Colin Clout's come Home again" two years afterwards. This circumstance has not been noted. C.

As one that feeld the rising sun hath fought,
With words and teares now waile thy timelesse fate.

Drawne was thy race aright from princely line,
Nor lesse than such (by gifts that nature gave,
The common mother that all creatures have) 15
Doth vertue shew, and princely lineage shine.

A king gave thee thy name: a kingly minde
That God thee gave; who found it now too deere^b
For this base world, and hath resumde it neere,
To fit in skies, and sort with powres divine. 20

Kent thy birth daies, and Oxford held thy youth;
The heavens made hast, and staid nor yeers, nor time:
The fruits of age grew ripe in thy first prime;
Thy will, thy words; thy words the seales of truth.

Great gifts and wisdom rare imployd thee thence, 25
To treat from kings with those more great than kings;
Such hope men had to lay the highest things
On thy wise youth, to be transported hence.

Whence to sharpe wars sweet honor did thee call,
Thy countries love, religion, and thy friends: 30
Of worthy men the marks, the lives, and ends,
And her defence, for whom we labor all.

There didst thou vanquish shame and tedious age,
Griefe, sorrow, sicknes, and base fortunes might:
Thy rising day saw never wofull night, 35
But past with praise from of[f] this worldly stage.^c

^b *who found it now too deere.*] The reading in "The Phoenix Nest," 1593, seems preferable, viz. "who found it *was* too deare:" it is the only variation that is not merely literal. C.

^c *from of[f] this worldly stage.*] In "The Phoenix Nest," the

Back to the campe, by thee that day was brought,
 First thine owne death, and after thy long fame;
 Teares to the soldiers, the proud Castilians shame,
 Vertue exprest, and honor truly taught. 40

What hath he lost that such great grace hath woun?
 Yoong yeeres for endles yeeres, and hope unfure
 Of fortunes gifts for wealth that still shall dure:
 Oh, happie race with so great praises run!

England doth hold thy lims that bred the fame, 45
 Flaunders thy valure where it last was tried,
 The Campe thy sorrow where thy bodie died,
 Thy friends thy want; the world thy vertues fame:

Nations thy wit, our mindes lay up thy love;
 Letters thy learning, thy losse yeeres long to come: 50
 In worthy harts sorrow hath made thy tombe;
 Thy foule and spright enrich the heavens above.

Thy liberall hart imbalmd in gratefull teares,
 Yoong fighes, sweet fighes, sage fighes, bewaile thy fall;
 Envie her sting, and Spite hath left her gall, 55
 Malice her selfe a mourning garment weares.

That day their Hanniball died, our Scipio fell,
 Scipio, Cicero, and Petrarch of our time!
 Whose vertues, wounded by my worthelesse rime,
 Let Angels speake, and heaven thy praises tell. 60

preposition "of" is used instead of the adverb *off*. This, and other circumstances, seem to show that the copy, as it appeared in the Supplement to "Colin Clout's come Home again," was printed from that which had come out two years before. C.

ANOTHER OF THE SAME.^d

SILENCE augmenteth grief, writing encreaseth rage,
 Stald are my thoughts, which lov'd, and lost, the
 wonder of our age,
 Yet quickned now with fire, though dead with frost ere
 now,
 Enrag'de I write, I know not what : dead, quick, I know
 not how.

Hard harted mindes relent, and rigors teares abound, 5
 And envie strangely rues his end, in whom no fault she
 found ;
 Knowledge her light hath lost, valor hath flaine her
 knight ;
 Sidney is dead, dead is my friend, dead is the worlds
 delight.

Place penfive wailes his fall whose presence was her pride,
 Time crieth out, my ebbe is come ; his life was my spring
 tide : 10
 Fame mournes in that she lost the ground of her reports ;
 Ech living wight laments his lacke, and all in fundry sorts.

He was (wo worth that word!) to ech well thinking minde
 A spotlesse friend, a matchles man, whose vertue ever
 shinde,
 Declaring in his thoughts, his life, and that he writ, 15
 Highest conceits, longest foresights, and deepest works
 of wit.

^d *Another of the same.*] "Excellently written by a most woorthy Gentleman," adds "The Phoenix Nest ;" but we have not been able to ascertain who he might be. There are only literal variations, of no importance, between the two copies. C.

He, onely like himfelfe, was fecond unto none,
 Whofe deth (though life) we rue, and wrong, and al in
 vain do mone;
 Their losfe, not him, waile they, that fill the world with
 cries:
 Death flue not him, but he made death his ladder to the
 fkies.

20

Now finke of forrow I, who live; the more the wrong;
 Who wifhing death, whom deth denies, whofe thred is
 al to long,
 Who tied to wretched life, who lookes for no reliefe,
 Muft fpend my ever dying daies in never ending grieve.

Harts eafe and onely I, like parallels, run on,^e
 Whofe equall length keep equall bredth, and never meet
 in one;
 Yet for not wronging him, my thoughts, my forrowes
 cell,
 Shall not run out, though leake they will, for liking him
 fo well.

25

Farewell to you, my hopes, my wonted waking dreames;
 Farewell, fometimes enjoyed joy; eclipsed are thy beames:
 Farewell felfe pleafing thoughts, which quietnes brings
 foorth;
 And farewell friendships facred league, uniting minds of
 woorth!

31

And farewell, mery hart, the gift of guiltleffe mindes,
 And all fports which for lives reftore varietie affignes;

^e *like parallels, run on.*] It is "like *parables* run on" in both the old copies. We have, and ought to have no hesitation in correcting this obvious nonsense; but Todd preferved it without remark, though "parallels" is the word in the folio 1611. C.

Let all, that sweete is, voyd ; in me no mirth may dwell,
Philip, the cause of all this woe, my lives content, fare-
well !

36

Now rime, the sonne of rage, which art no kin to skill,
And endles griefe, which deads my life, yet knowes not
how to kill,

Go, seeke that haples tombe ;^f which if ye hap to finde,
Salute the stons that keep the lims that held so good a
minde.

40

^f *Go, seeke that haples tombe.*] So "The Phoenix Nest," and the folio 1611; but elsewhere it is "Go seekes," &c. C.



AMORETTI AND EPITHALAMION.

WRITTEN NOT LONG SINCE BY

EDMUNDE SPENSER.

Printed for William Ponfonby

1595.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
SIR ROBERT NEEDHAM, KNIGHT.^a

SIR, to gratulate your safe return from Ireland I had nothing so readie, nor thought any thing so meete, as these sweete conceited Sonets, the deede of that well-deserving gentleman, maister Edmond Spenser: whose name sufficiently warranting the worthinesse of the work, I do more confidently presume to publish it in his absence, under your name, to whom (in my poore opinion) the patronage therof doth in some respectes properly appertaine. For, besides your judgement and delighte in learned poesie, this gentle Muse, for her former perfection long wished for in Englande, nowe at the length crossing the Seas in your happy companye (though to your selfe unknowne) seemeth to make choyse of you, as meetest to give her deserved countenance after her retourne: entertaine her then (Right worshipfull) in sorte best be-seeming your gentle minde and her merite, and take in worth my good will herein, who seeke no more but to shew my selfe yours in all dutifull affection.

W. P.

^a *Sir Robert Needham, Knight.*] It is singular that this Dedication, signed with the initials of the Publisher, should never have been printed in modern times in connection with the Sonnets to which they relate. It shows, at all events, that Spenser was absent in Ireland; and that Sir Robert Needham had himself come to England in the same ship that brought the poetical productions. C.

G. W. SENIOR,^b TO THE AUTHOR.

DARKE is the day, when Phæbus face is
shrowded,
And weaker sights may wander soone astray;
But, when they see his glorious raies unclouded,
With steddy steps they keepe the perfect way:
So, while this Muse in forraine landes doth stay,
Invention weepes, and pens are cast aside;
The time, like night, depriv'd of chearefull day,
And few do write, but (ah!) too soone may slide.
Then, hie thee home, that art our perfect guide,
And with thy wit illustrate England's fame,
Dawnting thereby our neighboures auncient pride,
That do, for poesie, challendge cheefest name:
So we that live, and ages that succeede,
With great applause thy learned works shall reede.

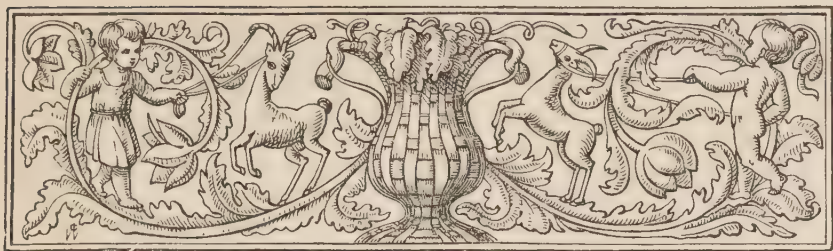
^b G. W. senior.] Perhaps George Whetstone, a poetaster and dramatic writer in the reign of Elizabeth; for he is characterized by a contemporary writer, "as one of the most passionate amongst us to bewail the perplexities of love." These "Amoretti," or "Sonnets," we may therefore suppose quite suited to his taste. If this address to Spenser be written by Whetstone, we may suppose G. W. jun., by whom the other address is signed, to be his son. TODD. We have no knowledge of anything else written by G. W. junior; and it is to be observed that in the old impressions the initials are G. W. J., which last letter may not mean junior: the first commendatory Sonnet is, however, distinctly stated to be by "G. W. senior." In our "Life of Spenser" we have shown that Whetstone, in 1587, was so little acquainted with the works of our poet, as well as of Sidney, as to impute to the latter the then most celebrated work of the former. C.

*AH! Colin, whether on the lowly plaine,
 Piping to shepherds thy sweete roundelaies;
 Or whether singing, in some lofty vaine,
 Heroick deedes of past or present daies;
 Or whether, in thy lovely mistris praise,
 Thou list to exercise thy learned quill;
 Thy muse hath got such grace and power to please
 With rare invention, bewtified by skill,
 As who therein can ever joy their fill?
 O! therefore let that happy muse proceed
 To clime the height of vertues sacred hill,
 Where endles honor shall be made thy meede;
 Because no malice of succeeding daies
 Can rase those records of thy lasting praise.*

G. W. J.^c

^c G. W. J.] Todd here boldly printed "G. W. Jun^r," but without warrant from any old impression: he also made about thirty other variations, though professing to follow the orthography of the original edition. C.





AMORETTI, &c.^d

SONNET I.

HAPPY, ye leaves! when as those lilly
 hands,
 Which hold my life in their dead doing
 might,
 Shall handle you, and hold in loves soft
 bands,

Lyke captives trembling at the victors fight.
 And happy lines! on which, with starry light,
 Those laming eyes^e will deigne sometimes to look,

^d *Amoretti, &c.*] Where these little pieces were written does not appear: probably in Ireland. G. W. senior, in his preliminary Sonnet, urges the author to "hie home," and "with his wit illustrate England's fame." If, therefore, Spenser's travels did not extend beyond Ireland, G. W. must allude to his residence in this [that] country, which he calls "forraine land," at the time the Sonnets were written. From the 80th Sonnet, they would seem to have been the relaxation of his muse after "a long race thro' Fairy land." Entangled in the web of allegory, or weary of "so long a race," he probably only wrote a few cantos of the 7th and 8th books, and then suspended the work; which the political distractions, that drove him out of Ireland, prevented him from ever resuming. So that it may be presumed "the deep" is unjustly accused of having "swallowed" what was never written. J. C. WALKER. We have considered this point in our "Life of Spenser." The Sonnets were certainly sent over from Ireland, but many of them had been, no doubt, composed in England. C.

^e *Those laming eyes.*] *Shining eyes.* See F. Q. iii. iii. 1 [vol. ii. p. 382]. TODD. Drummond has the same epithet applied to eyes. C.

And reade the sorrowes of my dying spright,
 Written with teares in harts close bleeding book.
 And happy rymes! bath'd in the sacred brooke
 Of Helicon, whence she derived is,
 When ye behold that Angels blessed looke,
 My soules long lacked food, my heavens blis,
 Leaves, lines, and rymes, seeke her to please alone,
 Whom if ye please, I care for other none.

SONNET II.

UNQUIET thought! whom at the first I bred
 Of th' inward bale of my love pined hart;
 And fithens have with sighes and sorrowes fed,
 Till greater then my wombe thou woxen art;
 Breake forth at length out of the inner part,
 In which thou lurkest lyke to vipers brood,
 And seeke some succour both to ease my smart,
 And also to sustayne thy selfe with food.
 But if in presence of that fayrest proud
 Thou chance to come, fall lowly at her feet,
 And, with meek humbleffe and afflicted mood,
 Pardon for thee, and grace for me, intreat;
 Which if she graunt, then live, and my love cherish:
 If not, die soone; and I with thee will perish.

SONNET III.

THE soverayne beauty which I doo admyre,
 Witnesse the world how worthy to be prayzed!
 The light wherof hath kindled heavenly fyre
 In my fraile spirit, by her from basenesse rayfed;
 That being now with her huge brightnesse dazed,
 Base thing I can no more endure to view,
 But, looking still on her, I stand amazed

At wondrous sight of so celestial hew.
 So when my tounge would speak her praises dew,
 It stopped is with thoughts astonishment;
 And when my pen would write her titles true,
 It raviſht is with fancies wonderment:

Yet in my hart I then both ſpeake and write
 The wonder that my wit cannot endite.

SONNET IV.

NEW yeare, forth looking out of Janus gate,^f
 Doth ſeeme to promiſe hope of new delight;
 And, bidding th' old Adieu, his paſſed date
 Bids all old thoughts to die in dumpiſh ſpright:^g
 And calling forth out of ſad Winters night
 Freſh Love, that long hath ſlept in cheerleſſe bower,
 Wils him awake, and ſoone about him dight
 His wanton wings and darts of deadly power.
 For luſty Spring, now in his timely howre,
 Is ready to come forth, him to receive;
 And warnes the Earth with divers colord flowre
 To decke hir ſelfe, and her faire mantle weave.
 Then you, faire flowre, in whom freſh youth doth raine,
 Prepare your ſelfe new love to entertaine.

SONNET V.

RUDELY thou wrongeſt my deare harts deſire,
 In finding fault with her too portly pride:

^f *New yeare, forth looking out of Janus gate.*] This Sonnet ſhows that Spenser calculated by the historical year, commencing on the 1ſt of January. This point is to be noted in reference to ſeveral queſtions of date which have ariſen in our poet's biography. C.

^g *to die in dumpiſh ſpright.*] In a *melancholy* mood. We have had the ſame epithet in vol. iii. p. 106. The ſubſtantive *dump* was ſometimes uſed for a ſad or funereal poem, as well as for a ſolemn piece of muſic: we now uſually apply it to a ſtate of mind. C.

The thing which I doo most in her admire,
 Is of the world unworthy most envide;
 For in those lofty lookes is close implide
 Scorn of base things, and sdeigne of foul dishonor;
 Thretning rash eies which gaze on her so wide,
 That loosely they ne dare to looke upon her.
 Such pride is praise, such portlineffe is honor,
 That boldned innocence beares in hir eies;
 And her faire countenance, like a goodly banner,
 Spreds in defiaunce of all enemies.

Was never in this world ought worthy tride,
 Without some spark of such self-pleasing pride.

SONNET VI.

BE nought dismayd that her unmoved mind
 Doth still persist in her rebellious pride:
 Such love, not lyke to lusts of baser kynd,
 The harder wonne, the firmer will abide.
 The durefull Oake, whose sap is not yet dride,
 Is long ere it conceive the kindling fyre;
 But, when it once doth burne, it doth divide
 Great heat, and makes his flames to heaven aspire.
 So hard it is to kindle new desire
 In gentle brest, that shall endure for ever:
 Deepe is the wound, that dints the parts entire^h
 With chaste affects, that naught but death can sever.
 Then thinke not long in taking litle paine
 To knit the knot, that ever shall remaine.

^h *that dints the parts entire.*] Here, as in vol. iii. pp. 218, 419, "entire" is used for *interior* or *inward*. Spenser, however, also employs it for *complete*, *undivided*, &c. C.

SONNET VII.

FAYRE eyes, the myrrour of my mazed hart,
 What wondrous vertue is contayn'd in you,
 The which both lyfe and death forth from you dart
 Into the object of your mighty view!
 For, when ye mildly looke with lovely hew,
 Then is my soule with life and love inspired;
 But when ye lowre, or looke on me askew,
 Then doe I die, as one with lightning fyred.
 But, since that lyfe is more then death defyred,
 Looke ever lovely, as becomes you best;
 That your bright beams, of my weak eies admyred,
 May kindle living fire¹ within my brest.

Such life should be the honor of your light,
 Such death the sad ensample of your might.

SONNET VIII.

MORE then most faire, full of the living fire
 Kindled above unto the Maker neere;
 No eies but joyes, in which al powers conspire,
 That to the world naught else be counted deare!
 Through your bright beams doth not the blinded guest
 Shoot out his darts to base affections wound;
 But Angels come to lead fraile mindes to rest
 In chaste desires, on heavenly beauty bound.
 You frame my thoughts, and fashion me within;
 You stop my tounge, and teach my hart to speake;
 You calme the storme that passion did begin,
 Stronge through your cause, but by your vertue weak.

Dark is the world where your light shined never;
 Well is he borne that may behold you ever.

¹ *May kindle living fire.*] Todd made nonsense of this line by printing "kindle" *kindly*, for which he could have no authority. C.

SONNET IX.

LONG-WHILE I fought to what I might compare
 Those powrefull eies, which lighten my dark
 spright;

Yet find I nought on earth to which I dare
 Refemble th' ymage of their goodly light.
 Not to the Sun, for they doo shine by night;
 Nor to the Moone, for they are changed never;
 Nor to the Starres, for they have purer fight;
 Nor to the Fire, for they consume not ever;
 Nor to the Lightning, for they still persever;
 Nor to the Diamond, for they are more tender;
 Nor unto Christall, for nought may them sever;
 Nor unto Glasfe, such baseness mought offend her:
 Then to the Maker selfe they likest be,
 Whose light doth lighten all that here we see.

SONNET X.

UNRIGHTEOUS Lord of love, what law is this,
 That me thou makest thus tormented be,
 The whiles she lordeth in licentious blisse
 Of her freewill, scorning both thee and me?
 See! how the Tyrannesse doth joy to see
 The huge massacres which her eyes do make,
 And humbled harts brings captives unto thee,
 That thou of them mayst mightie vengeance take.
 But her proud hart doe thou a little shake,
 And that high look, with which she doth comptroll
 All this worlds pride, bow to a baser make,^j
 And al her faults in thy black booke enroll:

^j *bow to a baser make.*] Poets, as before observed, vol. iii. p. 192, used "make" and *mate* almost indifferently, being frequently governed merely by the rhyme. C.

That I may laugh at her, in equall fort
As she doth laugh at me, and makes my pain her sport.

SONNET XI.

DAYLY when I do seeke and sew for peace,
And hostages doe offer for my truth,
She, cruell warriour, doth her selfe addresse
To battell, and the weary war renew'th;
Ne wilbe moov'd with reason, or with rewth,
To graunt small respite to my restlesse toile,
But greedily her fell intent poursfewth,
Of my poore life to make unpittied spoile.
Yet my poore life, all sorrowes to affoyle,^k
I would her yield, her wrath to pacify:
But then she seekes, with torment and turmoyle,
To force me live, and will not let me dy.
All paine hath end, and every war hath peace;
But mine no price nor prayer may surcease.

SONNET XII.

ONE day I fought with her hart-thrilling eies^l
To make a truce, and termes to entertaine;
All fearlesse then of so false enimies,
Which fought me to entrap in treasons traine.
So, as I then disarmed did remaine,
A wicked ambush which lay hidden long,
In the close covert of her guilfull eyen,

^k *all sorrowes to affoyle.*] "Affoil" is a very common word, with Spenser in particular: it ordinarily means *absolve*, and here to *do away* or *remove*: see vol. iii. p. 194, and many other places. C.

^l *with her hart-thrilling eies.*] i. e. heart-piercing, literally *drilling*, eyes: in Sonnet xxxvi. Spenser again speaks of "her thrilling eyes." In the F. Q. he uses "thrilld" and "thrillant:" see vol. ii. p. 54, and the note on the same word, p. 157. C.

Thence breaking forth, did thick about me throng.
 Too feeble I t' abide the brunt so strong,
 Was forst to yeeld my selfe into their hands;
 Who me captiving streight with rigorous wrong,
 Have ever since kept me in cruell bands.

So, Ladie, now to you I doo complaine,
 Against your eies, that justice I may gaine.

SONNET XIII.

IN that proud port,^m which her so goodly graceth,
 Whiles her faire face she reares up to the skie,
 And to the ground her eie-lids low embaseth,
 Most goodly temperature ye may descry,
 Myld humbleffe, mixt with awfull majestie;
 For, looking on the earth, whence she was borne,
 Her minde remembreth her mortalitie,
 Whatso is fayrest shall to earth returne:
 But that same lofty countenance seemes to scorne
 Base thing, and thinke how she to heaven may clime;
 Treading downe earth as lothsome and forlorne,
 That hinders heavenly thoughts with drossy slime.

Yet lowly still vouchsafe to looke on me;
 Such lowlineffe shall make you lofty be.

SONNET XIV.

RETOURNE agayne, my forces late dismayd,
 Unto the siege by you abandon'd quite.
 Great shame it is to leave, like one afrayd,
 So fayre a peece,ⁿ for one repulse so light.

^m *In that proud port.*] This Sonnet would seem properly to follow that numbered v.: it is a continuation of the same subject and point. C.

ⁿ *So fayre a peece.*] "Piece" constantly means a castle or fortress in Spenser: see vol. iii. p. 328, &c. C.

'Gaynst fuch strong castles needeth greater might
 Then those small forts which ye were wont belay :^o
 Such haughty mynds, enur'd to hardy fight,
 Disdayne to yield unto the first assay.
 Bring therefore all the forces that ye may,
 And lay incessant battery to her heart ;
 Playnts, prayers, vowes, ruth, sorrow, and difmay :
 Those engins can the proudest love convert ;
 And, if those fayle, fall down and dy before her ;
 So dying live, and living do adore her.

SONNET XV.

YE tradefull Merchants, that with weary toyle
 Do seeke most pretious things to make your gain,
 And both the Indias of their treasure spoile,
 What needeth you to seeke so farre in vaine ?
 For loe ! my Love doth in her selfe containe
 All this worlds riches that may farre be found :
 If Saphyres, loe ! her eies be Saphyres plaine ;
 If Rubies, loe ! hir lips be Rubies found ;
 If Pearles, hir teeth be pearles, both pure and round ;
 If Yvorie, her forehead yvory weene ;
 If Gold, her locks are finest gold on ground ;
 If Silver, her faire hands are silver sheene :
 But that which fairest is but few behold,
 Her mind, adorn'd with vertues manifold.

^o *which ye were wont belay.*] *To place in ambush,* says Dr. Johnson ; but it means, I conceive, *to attack.* Dr. Johnson was misled by the editions which read—

“Than those small *forces*, &c.” TODD.

“Belay” has the same sense, and the same etymology as *beleaguer*. C.

SONNET XVI.

 NE day as I unwarily did gaze
 On those fayre eyes, my loves immortall light,
 The whiles my stonisht hart stood in amaze
 Through sweet illusion of her lookes delight,
 I mote perceive how, in her glauncing fight
 Legions of Loves with little wings did fly;
 Darting their deadly arrowes, fyry bright,
 At every rash beholder passing by.
 One of those archers closely I did spy,
 Ayming his arrow at my very hart;
 When suddenly, with twinkle of her eye,
 The Damzell broke his misintended dart.
 Had she not so doon, sure I had bene slayne;
 Yet, as it was, I hardly scap't with paine.

SONNET XVII.

 HE glorious pourtraict of that Angels face,
 Made to amaze weake mens confused skil,
 And this worlds worthlesse glory to embase,
 What pen, what pencill, can expresse her fill?
 For though he colours could devize at will,
 And eke his learned hand at pleasure guide,
 Least, trembling, it his workmanship should spill,
 Yet many wondrous things there are beside:
 The sweet eye-glaunces, that like arrowes glide;
 The charming smiles, that rob fence from the hart;
 The lovely pleasance, and the lofty pride,
 Cannot expressed be by any art.
 A greater craftsmans hand thereto doth neede,
 That can expresse the life of things indeed.

SONNET XVIII.

THE rolling wheele, that runneth often round,
 The hardest Steele in tract of time doth teare;
 And drizzling drops, that often doe redound,
 The firmest flint doth in continuance weare:
 Yet cannot I, with many a dropping teare^p
 And long intreaty, soften her hard hart;
 That she will once vouchsafe my plaint to heare,
 Or looke with pittie on my payneful smart.
 But when I pleade, she bids me play my part;
 And when I weep, she sayes, teares are but water;
 And when I sigh, she sayes, I know the art;
 And when I waile, she turnes hir selfe to laughter.
 So doe I weepe, and wayle, and pleade in vaine,
 Whiles she as Steele and flint doth still remayne.

SONNET XIX.

THE merry Cuckow, messenger of Spring,
 His trompet shrill hath thrise already founded,
 That warnes al lovers wayt upon their king,
 Who now is comming forth with girland crouned:
 With noyse whereof the quyre of Byrds refounded
 Their anthemes sweet, devized of loves prayse,
 That all the woods theyr ecchoes back rebounded,
 As if they knew the meaning of their layes.
 But mongst them all, which did Loves honor rayse,
 No word was heard of her that most it ought;
 But she his precept proudly disobayes,
 And doth his ydle message set at nought.
 Therefore, O Love! unlesse she turne to thee
 Ere Cuckow end, let her a rebell be.

^p *with many a dropping teare.*] Todd misprinted "dropping"
drooping, but he has not been followed in this error. C.

SONNET XX.

IN vaine I seeke and sew to her for grace,
 And doe myne humbled heart before her poure ;
 The whiles her foote she in my necke doth place,
 And tread my life downe in the lowly floure.
 And yet the Lyon that is lord of power,
 And reigneth over every beast in field,
 In his most pride disdeigneth to deuoure
 The filly lambe that to his might doth yield.
 But she, more cruell, and more salvage wyld,
 Than either Lyon, or the Lyonesse ;
 Shames not to be with guiltlesse bloud defylde,
 But taketh glory in her cruelnesse.
 Fayrer then fayrest ! let none ever say,
 That ye were blooded in a yeelded pray.

SONNET XXI.

WAS it the worke of Nature or of Art,
 Which tempred so the feature of her face,
 That pride and meeknesse, mixt by equall part,
 Doe both appeare t' adorne her beauties grace ?
 For with mild pleasance, which doth pride displace,
 She to her loves doth lookers eyes allure ;
 And with sterne countenance back again doth chace
 Their looser lookes that stir up lustes impure.
 With such strange termes her eyes she doth inure,
 That with one looke she doth my life dismay,
 And with another doth it streight recure ;
 Her smile me drawes ; her frowne me drives away.
 Thus doth she traine and teach me with her lookes :
 Such art of eyes I never read in bookes.

SONNET XXII.

THIS holy season, fit to fast and pray,
 Men to devotion ought to be inclynd :
 Therefore, I lykewise, on so holy day,
 For my sweet Saynt some service fit will find.
 Her temple fayre is built within my mind,
 In which her glorious ymage placed is ;
 On which my thoughts doo day and night attend,
 Lyke sacred priests that never thinke amisse :
 There I to her, as th' author of my blisse,
 Will builde an altar to appease her yre ;
 And on the same my hart will sacrifice,
 Burning in flames of pure and chaste desyre :
 The which vouchsafe, O goddesse ! to accept,
 Amongst thy deereſt relicks to be kept.

SONNET XXIII.

PENELOPE, for her Uliſſes ſake,
 Deviz'd a Web her wooers to deceave ;
 In which the worke that ſhe all day did make,
 The ſame at night ſhe did againe unreave :
 Such ſubtile craft my Damzell doth conceive,
 Th' importune ſuit of my deſire to ſhonne ;
 For all that I in many dayes doo weave,
 In one ſhort houre I find by her undonne.
 So, when I thinke to end that I begonne,
 I muſt begin and never bring to end :
 For, with one looke, ſhe ſpils that long I ſponne ;
 And with one word my whole years work doth rend.
 Such labour like the Spyders web I fynd,
 Whoſe fruitleſſe worke is broken with leaſt wynd.

SONNET XXIV.

WHEN I behold that beauties wonderment,
 And rare perfection of each goodly part,
 Of nature's skill the onely complement,
 I honor and admire the Makers art :
 But when I feele the bitter balefull smart,
 Which her fayre eyes unwares doe worke in mee,
 That death out of theyr shiny beames doe dart,
 I thinke that I a new Pandora see,
 Whom all the Gods in counsell did agree
 Into this sinfull world from heaven to send ;
 That she to wicked men a scourge should bee,
 For all their faults with which they did offend.
 But, since ye are my scourge, I will intreat
 That for my faults ye will me gently beat.

SONNET XXV.

HOW long shall this lyke dying lyfe endure,
 And know no end of her owne myfery,
 But wast and weare away in termes unfure,
 'Twixt feare and hope depending doubtfully ?
 Yet better were attonce to let me die,
 And shew the last ensample of your pride,
 Then to torment me thus with cruelty
 To prove your powre, which I too wel have tride :
 But yet if in your hardned brest ye hide
 A close intent at last to shew me grace,
 Then all the woes and wrecks which I abide,
 As meanes of blisse I gladly wil embrace ;
 And wish that more and greater they might be,
 That greater meede at last may turne to mee.

SONNET XXVI.

SWEET is the Rose, but growes upon a brere;
 Sweet is the Junipre, but sharpe his bough;
 Sweet is the Eglantine, but pricketh nere;
 Sweet is the Firbloome, but his braunches rough;
 Sweet is the Cypresse, but his rynd is tough;^a
 Sweet is the Nut, but bitter is his pill;
 Sweet is the Broome-flowre, but yet fowre enough;
 And sweet is Moly, but his root is ill.
 So every sweet with foure is tempred still,
 That maketh it be coveted the more;
 For easie things, that may be got at will,
 Most sorts of men doe set but little store:
 Why then should I accoumt of little paine,
 That endlesse pleasure shall unto me gaine!

SONNET XXVII.

FAIRE proud! now tell me, why should faire be
 proud,
 Sith all worlds glorie is but droffe uncleane,
 And in the shade of death it selfe shall shroud,
 However now thereof ye little weene?
 That goodly Idoll, now so gay beseene,
 Shall doffe her fleshes borrowd fayre attyre,
 And be forgot as it had never beene,
 That many now much worship and admire:
 Ne any then shall after it inquire,
 Ne any mention shall thereof remaine,
 But what this verse, that never shall expyre,
 Shall to you purchas with her thankles pain.

^a *but his rynd is tough.*] By a misprint Todd made the rind of the cypress *rough*, as well as the branches of the firbloom: our text is that of all the old impressions. C.

Faire! be no lenger proud of that shall perish;
But that, which shal you make immortall, cherish.

SONNET XXVIII.

THE laurell leafe, which you this day doe weare,
Gives me great hope of your relenting mynd;
For since it is the badge which I doe beare,
Ye, bearing it, doe seeme to me inclind:
The powre thereof, which ofte in me I find,
Let it lykewise your gentle brest inspire
With sweet infusion, and put you in mind
Of that proud mayd, whom now those leaves attyre:
Proud Daphne, scorning Phœbus lovely fyre,
On the Theſſalian ſhore from him did flie;
For which the gods, in theyr revengefull yre,
Did her transforme into a laurell tree.

Then fly no more, fayre love, from Phebus chace,
But in your brest his leafe and love embrace.

SONNET XXIX.

SEE! how the ſtubborne damzell doth deprave
My ſimple meaning with diſdaynfull ſcorne;
And by the bay, which I unto her gave,
Accoumpts my ſelfe her captive quite forlorne.
The bay, (quoth ſhe) is of the victours born,
Yielded them by the vanquiſht as theyr meeds,
And they therewith doe poetes heads adorne,
To ſing the glory of their famous deeds.
But ſith ſhe will the conqueſt challeng needs,
Let her accept me as her faithfull thrall;
That her great triumph, which my ſkill exceeds,
I may in trump of fame blaze over all:

Then would I decke her head with glorious bayes,
And fill the world with her victorious prayſe.

SONNET XXX.

MY love is lyke to yfe, and I to fyre :
 How comes it then that this her cold so great
 Is not dissolv'd through my so hot defyre,
 But harder growes the more I her intreat ?
 Or how comes it that my exceeding heat
 Is not delayd by her hart frosen cold ;
 But that I burne much more in boyling sweate,
 And feele my flames augmented manifold ?
 What more miraculous thing may be told,
 That fire, which all thing melts, should harden yfe ;
 And yfe, which is congeald with fencelesse cold,
 Should kindle fyre by wonderful devyse !
 Such is the powre of love in gentle mind,
 That it can alter all the course of kynd.

SONNET XXXI.

AH ! why hath Nature to so hard a hart
 Given so goodly giftes of beauties grace,
 Whose pryde depraves each other better part,
 And all those pretious ornaments deface ?
 Sith to all other beastes, of bloody race,
 A dreadfull countenance she given hath ;
 That with theyr terrour al the rest may chace,
 And warne to shun the daunger of theyr wrath.
 But my proud one doth worke the greater scath,
 Through sweet allurements of her lovely hew ;
 That she the better may, in bloody bath
 Of such poore thralls, her cruell hands embrew.
 But, did she know how ill these two accord,
 Such cruelty she would have soone abhord.

SONNET XXXII.

THE paynefull smith with force of fervent heat
 The hardest yron soone doth mollify;
 That with his heavy sledge he can it beat,
 And fashion to what he it list apply.
 Yet cannot all these flames, in which I fry,
 Her hart, more harde then yron, soft awhit;
 Ne all the playnts and prayers, with which I
 Doe beat on th' andvyle of her stubberne wit:
 But still, the more she fervent fees my fit,
 The more she frieseth in her wilfull pryde;
 And harder growes the harder she is smit
 With all the playnts which to her be applyde.
 What then remains but I to ashes burne,
 And she to stones at length all frosen turne?

SONNET XXXIII.

GREAT wrong I doe, I can it not deny,
 To that most sacred Empresse, my dear dred,
 Not finishing her Queene of faëry,^r
 That mote enlarge her living prayses, dead:
 But, Lodwick, this of grace to me aread;
 Doe ye not thinck th' accomplishment of it,
 Sufficient worke for one mans simple head,
 All were it, as the rest, but rudely writ?
 How then should I, without another wit,
 Thinck evèr to endure so tædious toyle;
 Sins that this one is tost with troublous fit
 Of a proud love, that doth my spirite spoyle?

^r *Not finishing her Queene of faëry.*] This is the Sonnet alluded to on page 91, in which Lodowick Brykett (here called only Lodwick) is addressed on the subject of the unfinished "Faerie Queene." In the 11th line, in the oldest edition, the first word is "Sins," i. e. *since*; but it was subsequently altered to *Sith*, and so Todd reprinted it. C.

Cease then, till she vouchsafe to grawnt me rest;
Or lend you me another living brest.

SONNET XXXIV.

WYKE as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde
By conduct of some star doth make her way,
Whenas a storm hath dimd her trusty guyde,
Out of her course doth wander far astray.
So I, whose star, that wont with her bright ray
Me to direct, with cloudes is over-cast,
Doe wander now, in darknesse and dismay,
Through hidden perils round about me plapt:
Yet hope I well that, when this storme is past,
My Helice, the lodestar of my lyfe,
Will shine again, and looke on me at last,
With lovely light to cleare my cloudy grief.
Till then I wander carefull, comfortlesse,
In secret sorrow, and sad pensivenesse.

SONNET XXXV.

MY hungry eyes, through greedy covetize
Still to behold the object of their paine,
With no contentment can themselves suffize,
But, having, pine; and, having not, complaine:
For, lacking it, they cannot lyfe sustayne;
And, having it, they gaze on it the more;
In their amazement lyke Narcissus vaine,
Whose eyes him starv'd: so plenty makes me poore.
Yet are mine eyes so filled with the store
Of that faire sight, that nothing else they brooke,
But lothe the things which they did like before,
And can no more endure on them to looke.
All this worlds glory seemeth vayne to me,
And all their shoves but shadowes, saving she.

SONNET XXXVI.

TELL me, when shall these wearie woes have end,
 Or shall their ruthlesse torment never cease,
 But al my days in pining languor spend,
 Without hope of asswagement or release?
 Is there no meanes for me to purchase peace,
 Or make agreement with her thrilling eyes,
 But that their cruelty doth still increace,
 And dayly more augment my miseryes?
 But when ye have shewed all extremityes,
 Then thinke how litle glory ye have gayned
 By slaying him, whose lyfe, though ye despyse,
 Mote have your lyfe in honor long maintayned:
 But by his death, which some perhaps will mone,
 Ye shall condemned be of many a one.

SONNET XXXVII.

WHAT guyle is this, that those her golden tresses
 She doth attyre under a net of gold;
 And with sly skill so cunningly them dresses,
 That which is gold or haire may scarfe be told?
 Is it that mens frayle eyes, which gaze too bold,
 She may entangle in that golden snare;
 And, being caught, may craftily enfold
 Theyr weaker harts, which are not wel aware?
 Take heed therefore, myne eyes, how ye doe stare
 Henceforth too rashly on that guilefull net,
 In which if ever ye entrapped are,
 Out of her bands ye by no meanes shall get.
 Fondnesse it were for any, being free,
 To covet fetters, though they golden bee!

SONNET XXXVIII.

ARION, when through tempests cruel wracke
 He forth was thrown into the greedy seas,
 Through the sweet musick, which his harp did make,
 Allur'd a Dolphin him from death to ease.
 But my rude musick, which was wont to please
 Some dainty eares, cannot, with any skill,
 The dreadfull tempest of her wrath appease,
 Nor move the Dolphin from her stubborne will;
 But in her pride she dooth persevere still,
 All carelesse how my life for her decayse:
 Yet with one word she can it save or spill.
 To spill were pittie, but to save were prayse!
 Chuse rather to be prayd for dooing good,
 Then to be blam'd for spilling guiltlesse blood.

SONNET XXXIX.

SWEET smile! the daughter of the Queene of
 love,
 Expressing all thy mothers powrefull art,
 With which she wons to temper angry Jove,
 When all the gods he threats with thundring dart,
 Sweet is thy vertue, as thy selfe sweet art:
 For when on me thou shinedst late in sadnesse,
 A melting pleasance ran through every part,
 And me revived with hart robbing gladnesse.
 Whylest rapt with joy, resembling heavenly madnes,
 My soule was ravisht quite, as in a traunce;
 And feeling thence no more her sorowes sadnesse,
 Fed on the fulnesse of that chearefull glaunce,
 More sweet than Nectar, or Ambrosiall meat,
 Seem'd every bit which thenceforth I did eat.

SONNET XL.

MARK when she smiles with amiable cheare,
 And tell me whereto can ye lyken it;
 When on each eyelid sweetly doe appeare
 An hundred Graces as in shade to fit.^s
 Lykest it seemeth, in my simple wit,
 Unto the fayre sunshine in somers day;
 That, when a dreadfull storme away is flit,
 Through the broad world doth spread his goodly ray:
 At sight whereof, each bird that sits on spray,
 And every beast that to his den was fled,
 Comes forth afresh out of their late dismay,
 And to the light lift up their drouping hed.
 So my storme beaten hart likewise is cheared
 With that sunshine, when cloudy looks are cleared.

SONNET XLI.

IS it her nature, or is it her will,
 To be so cruell to an humbled foe?
 If nature; then she may it mend with skill:
 If will; then she at will may will forgoe.
 But if her nature and her wil be so,
 That she will plague the man that loves her most,
 And take delight t' encrease a wretches woe,
 Then all her natures goodly gifts are lost;
 And that same glorious beauties ydle boast
 Is but a bayt such wretches to beguile,
 As, being long in her loves tempest tost,
 She meanes at last to make her piteous spoyle.
 O fayrest fayre! let never it be named,
 That so fayre beauty was so fowly shamed.

^s *When on each eyelid sweetly doe appeare
 An hundred Graces as in shade to fit.* See my note on F. Q. ii.
 iii. 25 [vol. ii. p. 133]. T. WARTON.

SONNET XLII.

THE love, which me so cruelly tormenteth,
 So pleasing is in my extreamest paine,
 That, all the more my sorrow it augmenteth,
 The more I love and doe embrace my bane;
 Ne do I wish (for wishing were but vaine)
 To be acquit fro my continuall smart,
 But joy her thrall for ever to remayne,
 And yield for pledge my poore captyved hart:^t
 The which, that it from her may never start,
 Let her, yf please her, bynd with adamant chayne;
 And from all wandring loves, which mote pervart
 His safe assurance, strongly it restrayne.

Onely let her abstaine from cruelty,
 And doe me not before my time to dy.

SONNET XLIII.

SHALL I then silent be, or shall I speake?
 And if I speake, her wrath renew I shall;
 And if I silent be, my hart will breake,
 Or choked be with overflowing gall.
 What tyranny is this, both my hart to thrall,
 And eke my tounge with proud restraint to tie;
 That neither I may speake nor thinke at all,
 But like a stupid stock in silence die!
 Yet I my hart with silence secretly
 Will teach to speak, and my just cause to plead;

^t *And yield for pledge my poore captyved hart.*] So the line stands in every old copy, "captyved" being, of course, to be read as three syllables. Todd, apparently not seeing this, interpolated *and*—"my poor *and* captyved hart;" thereby rendering the measure redundant, unless "captyved," as Todd printed it, be read *captyv'd*: he gave no notice of his change, much for the worse. C.

And eke mine eies, with meeke humility,
 Love learned letters to her eyes to read ;
 Which her deep wit, that true harts thought can spel,
 Wil soon conceive, and learne to construe well.

SONNET XLIV.

WHEN those renoumed noble Peres of Greece,^u
 Through stubborn pride among themselves did jar,
 Forgetfull of the famous golden fleece,
 Then Orpheus with his harp theyr strife did bar ;
 But this continuall, cruell, civill warre,
 The which my selfe against my selfe doe make,
 Whilest my weak powres of passions warreid arre,
 No skill can stint, nor reason can aslake :
 But, when in hand my tunelesse harp I take,
 Then doe I more augment my foes despight,
 And grieve renew, and passions doe awake
 To battaile, fresh against my selfe to fight :
 Mongst whome the more I seeke to settle peace,
 The more I fynd their malice to increace.

SONNET XLV.

LEAVE, Lady, in your glasse of christall clene
 Your goodly selfe for evermore to vew,
 And in my selfe, my inward selfe, I meane,
 Most lively lyke behold your semblant trew.
 Within my hart, though hardly it can shew
 Thing so divine to vew of earthly eye,
 The fayre Idea of your celestiall hew
 And every part remains immortally :

^u *When those renoumed noble Peres of Greece, &c.]* He makes the same allusion to Apollonius Rhodius, Arg. i. 495, &c. in F. Q. iv. ii. 1 [vol. iii. p. 104]. T. WARTON.

And were it not that, through your cruelty,
 With sorrow dimmed and deformd it were,
 The goodly ymage of your visnomy,
 Clearer than cristall, would therein appere.

But if your selfe in me ye playne will see,
 Remove the cause by which your fayre beames darkned
 be.

SONNET XLVI.

WHEN my abodes prefixed time is spent,
 My cruell fayre streight bids me wend my way;
 But then from heaven most hideous stormes are sent,
 As willing me against her will to stay.
 Whom then shall I, or heaven or her, obey?
 The heavens know best what is the best for me;
 But as she will, whose will my life doth sway,
 My lower heaven, so it perforce must bee.
 But, ye high heavens, that all this forowe see,
 Sith all your tempests cannot hold me backe,
 Aswage your storms; or else both you, and she,
 Will both together me too sorely wrack.

Enough it is for one man to sustaine
 The stormes, which she alone on me doth raine.

SONNET XLVII.

TRUST not the treason of those smyling lookes,
 Untill ye have theyr guylefull traynes well tryde;
 For they are lyke but unto golden hookes,
 That from the foolish fish theyr bayts do hyde:
 So she with flattring smyles weake harts doth guyde
 Unto her love, and tempte to theyr decay;
 Whome, being caught, she kills with cruell pryde
 And feeds at pleasure on the wretched pray.

Yet even whylst her bloody hands them slay,
 Her eyes looke lovely, and upon them smyle;
 That they take pleasure in their cruell play,
 And, dying, doe them selves of payne beguyle.
 O mighty charm! which makes men love theyr bane,
 And thinck they dy with pleasure, live with payne.

SONNET XLVIII.

INNOCENT paper! whom too cruell hand
 Did make the matter to avenge her yre,
 And ere she could thy cause wel understand,
 Did sacrifice unto the greedy fyre,
 Well worthy thou to have found better hyre,
 Then so bad end for hereticks ordayned:
 Yet heresy nor treason didst conspire,
 But plead thy maisters cause, unjustly payned;
 Whom she, all carelesse of his grief, constryned
 To utter forth the anguish of his hart,
 And would not heare, when he to her complained
 The piteous passion of his dying smart.
 Yet live for ever, though against her will,
 And speake her good, though she requite it ill.

SONNET XLIX.

FAYRE cruell! why are ye so fierce and cruell?
 Is it because your eyes have powre to kill?
 Then know that mercy is the mighties jewell,
 And greater glory think to save then spill.
 But if it be your pleasure, and proud will,
 To shew the powre of your imperious eyes,
 Then not on him that never thought you ill,
 But bend your force against your enemyes:

Let them feele th' utmost of your crueltyes,
 And kill with looks, as Cockatrices doo ;
 But him, that at your footstoole humbled lies,
 With mercifull regard give mercy too.

Such mercy shal you make admyred to be ;
 So shall you live by giving life to me.

SONNET L.

LONG languishing in double malady,
 Of my harts wound and of my bodies greife,
 There came to me a leach, that would apply
 Fit medicines for my bodies best reliefe.
 Vayne man, (quod I) that hast but little priefe
 In deep discovery of the mynds disease !
 Is not the hart of all the body chiefe,
 And rules the members as it selfe doth please ?
 Then with some cordialls seeke for to appease
 The inward languour of my wounded hart,
 And then my body shall have shortly ease ;
 But such sweet cordialls passe Physitions art.

Then, my lyfes Leach ! doe you your skill reveale,
 And with one salve both hart and body heale.

SONNET LI.

DOE I not see that fayrest ymages
 Of hardest Marble are of purpose made,
 For that they should endure through many ages,
 Ne let theyr famous moniments to fade ?
 Why then doe I, untrainde in lovers trade,
 Her hardnes blame, which I should more commend,
 Sith never ought was excellent assayde
 Which was not hard t' atchive and bring to end ?

Ne ought so hard, but he, that would attend,
 Mote soften it and to his will allure.
 So doe I hope her stubborne hart to bend,
 And that it then more stedfast will endure:
 Onely my paines will be the more to get her;
 But, having her, my joy will be the greater.

SONNET LII.

SO oft as homeward I from her depart,
 I go lyke one that, having lost the field,
 Is prisoner led away with heavy hart,
 Despoild of warlike armes and knowen shield.
 So doe I now my selfe a prisoner yield
 To sorrow and to solitary paine;
 From presence of my dearest deare exylde,
 Longwhile alone in languor to remaine.
 There let no thought of joy, or pleasure vaine,
 Dare to approach, that may my solace breed;
 But sudden dumps,^w and drery sad disdayne
 Of all worlds gladnesse, more my torment feed.
 So I her absens will my penance make,
 That of her presens I my meed may take.

SONNET LIII.

THE Panther, knowing that his spotted hyde
 Doth please all beasts, but that his looks them fray,
 Within a bush his dreadfull head doth hide,
 To let them gaze, whylst he on them may pray.
 Right so my cruell fayre with me doth play;

^w *But sudden dumps.*] We should be disposed, if we dared take the liberty, to alter "sudden" to *sullen*; as in "King John," A. i. Sc. 1, it seems likely that the opposite misprint has been made, viz. "sullen" for *sudden*. See "Shakespeare," 1858, vol. iii. p. 126. C.

For, with the goodly semblant of her hew,^x
 She doth allure me to mine owne decay,
 And then no mercy will unto me shew.
 Great shame it is, thing so divine in view,
 Made for to be the worlds most ornament,
 To make the bayte her gazers to embrew :^y
 Good shames to be to ill an instrument,
 But mercy doth with beautie best agree,
 As in theyr Maker ye them best may see.

SONNET LIV.

 F this worlds Theatre in which we stay,
 My love, like the Spectator, ydly fits,
 Beholding me, that all the pageants play,
 Disguyfing diversly my troubled wits.
 Sometimes I joy when glad occasion fits,
 And mask in myrth lyke to a Comedy :
 Soone after, when my joy to sorrow flits,
 I waile, and make my woes a Tragedy.
 Yet she, beholding me with constant eye,
 Delights not in my mirth, not rues my smart ;
 But, when I laugh, she mocks ; and, when I cry,
 She laughs, and hardens evermore her hart.

What then can move her ? if nor mirth, nor mone,
 She is no woman, but a fencelesse stone.^z

^x *For, with the goodly semblant of her hew.*] The word is "semblant," as we have printed it, in the first edition of Spenser's "Amoretti," but *semblance* in the folio 1611 and in various later editions. Todd adopted *semblance* from the folio.

^y *her gazers to embrew.*] Here, a metaphorical expression. See F. Q. iii. vi. 17. TODD. In the place referred to the participle is employed for *bloody*, or "embrewed with blood," viz. "their embrewed game:" see vol. ii. p. 450. C.

^z *She is no woman, but a fencelesse stone.*] So in "All's Well that Ends Well," Act iv. Sc. 2, where Bertram tells Diana :—

"If the quick fire of youth light not your mind,
 You are no maiden, but a monument :

SONNET LV.

SO oft as I her beauty doe behold,
 And therewith doe her cruelty compare,
 I marvaile of what substance was the mould,
 The which her made attonce so cruell faire.
 Not earth; for her high thoghts more heavenly are:
 Not water; for her love doth burne like fyre:
 Not ayre; for she is not so light or rare:
 Not fyre; for she doth friese with faint desire.
 Then needs another Element inquire
 Whereof she mote be made; that is, the skye:
 For, to the heaven her haughty looks aspire;
 And eke her love is pure immortall hye.
 Then, sith to heaven ye lykened are the best,
 Be lyke in mercy as in all the rest.

SONNET LVI.

FAYRE ye be sure, but cruell and unkind,
 As is a Tygre, that with greedinesse
 Hunts after bloud; when he by chance doth find
 A feeble beast, doth felly him oppresse.
 Fayre be ye sure, but proud and pitilesse,
 As is a storme, that all things doth prostrate;
 Finding a tree alone all comfortlesse,
 Beats on it strongly, it to ruinate.
 Fayre be ye sure, but hard and obstinate,
 As is a rocke amidst the raging floods;

When you are dead, you should be such a one
 As you are now, for you are cold and stone."

By a "monument" the poet means a figure on a monument, which is "cold and stone," not *sterne*, as the passage has always been misprinted. See Shakesp. edit. Collier, 1858, ii. 596. "One" and "stone" were constantly used as rhymes of old. C.

Gaynst which, a ship, of succour desolate,
 Doth suffer wreck both of her selfe and goods.
 That ship, that tree, and that same beast am I,
 Whom ye doe wreck, doe ruine, and destroy.

SONNET LVII.

SWEET warriour! when shall I have peace with
 you?

High time it is this warre now ended were,
 Which I no lenger can endure to sue,
 Ne your incessant battry more to beare:
 So weake my powres, so fore my wounds appeare,
 That wonder is how I should live a jot,
 Seeing my hart through launched every where
 With thousand arrowes, which your eies have shot:
 Yet shoot ye sharpely still, and spare me not,
 But glory thinke to make these cruel stoures.
 Ye cruell one! what glory can be got,
 In slaying him that would live gladly yours?
 Make peace therefore, and graunt me timely grace
 That al my wounds wil heale in little space.

SONNET LVIII.

By her that is most assured to her selfe.

WEAKE is th' assurance that weake flesh repofeth
 In her owne powre, and scorneth others ayde;
 That soonest fals, when as she most supposeth
 Her selfe assur'd, and is of nought affrayd.
 All flesh is frayle, and all her strength unstayd,
 Like a vaine bubble blownen up with ayre:
 Devouring tyme and changeful chance have prayd
 Her glorious pride that none may it repayre.

Ne none so rich or wise, so strong or fayre,
 But fayleth, trusting on his owne assurance,
 And he that standeth on the hyghest stayre,
 Fals lowest; for on earth nought hath endurance.
 Why then doe ye, proud fayre, misdeeme so farre,
 That to your selfe ye most assured arre?

SONNET LIX.

THRISE happie she! that is so well assured
 Unto her selfe, and setled so in hart,
 That neither will for better be allured,
 Ne feard with worse to any chaunce to start;
 But, like a steddy ship, doth strongly part
 The raging waves, and keepes her course aright;
 Ne ought for tempest doth from it depart,
 Ne ought for fayrer weathers false delight.
 Such selfe assurance need not feare the spight
 Of grudging foes, ne favour seek of friends;
 But, in the stay of her owne stedfast might,
 Neither to one her selfe nor other bends.
 Most happy she, that most assured doth rest;
 But he most happy, who such one loves best!

SONNET LX.

THEY, that in course of heavenly spheares are skild,
 To every planet point his fundry yeare,
 In which her circles voyage is fulfild;
 As Mars in three score yeares doth run his spheare.
 So, since the winged God his planet cleare
 Began in me to move, one yeare is spent:
 The which doth longer unto me appeare,
 Then al those fourty which my life outwent.

Then by that count, which lovers books invent,
 The spheare of Cupid fourty yeares containes;
 Which I have wasted in long languishment,
 That seem'd the longer for my greater paines.

But let my loves fayre planet short her wayes
 This yeare ensuing, or else short my dayes.

SONNET LXI.

 HE glorious image of the Makers beautie,
 My soverayne faynt, the Idoll of my thought,
 Dare not henceforth above the bounds of dewtie
 T' accuse of pride, or rashly blame for ought:
 For being, as she is, divinely wrought,
 And of the brood of Angels heavenly born;
 And with the crew of blessed Saynts upbrought,
 Each of which did her with theyr guifts adorne;
 The bud of joy, the blossome of the morne,
 The beame of light whom mortal eyes admyre;
 What reason is it, then, but she should scorne
 Base things, that to her love too bold aspire?

Such heavenly formes ought rather worshipt be,
 Then dare be lov'd by men of meane degree.

SONNET LXII.

 HE weary yeare his race now having run,
 The new begins his compast course anew:
 With shew of morning mylde he hath begun,
 Betokening peace and plenty to ensue.
 So let us, which this chaunge of weather vew,
 Chaunge eeke our mynds, and former lives amend;
 The old yeares finnes forepast let us eschew,
 And fly the faults with which we did offend.
 Then shall the new yeares joy forth freshly send
 Into the glooming world his gladsome ray;

And all these stormes, which now his beauty blend,^a
 Shall turne to caulmes, and tymely cleare away.
 So, likewise, love! cheare you your heavy spright,
 And chaunge old yeares annoy to new delight.

SONNET LXIII.

AFTER long stormes and tempests sad assay,
 Which hardly I endured heretofore,
 In dread of death, and daungerous dismay,
 With which my filly barke was tossed fore,
 I doe at length descry the happy shore,
 In which I hope ere long for to arryve:
 Fayre soyle it seemes from far, and fraught with store
 Of all that deare and daynty is alyve.
 Most happy he, that can at last atchyve
 The joyous safety of so sweet a rest;
 Whose least delight sufficeth to deprive
 Remembrance of all paines which him opprest!
 All paines are nothing in respect of this;
 All sorrowes short that gaine eternall blisse.

SONNET LXIV.

COMMING to kisse her lips, (such grace I found)
 Me seemd I smelt a gardin of sweet flowres,
 That dainty odours from them threw around,
 For damzels fit to decke their lovers bowres.
 Her lips did smell lyke unto Gillyflowers;
 Her ruddy cheekes, lyke unto Roses red;

^a *which now his beauty blend.*] It may be doubted whether here we are to take "blend" in the sense of *blind*, as in F. Q. vol. ii. p. 144, &c. or in the sense of *confound*, as in F. Q. vol. ii. p. 160. If the former, we must understand "blind" as *conceal* or *cover*; but we are more disposed to think that Spenser means that the new year's "gladsome ray" is *confounded* by storms. C.

Her snowy browes, lyke budded Bellamoures ;
 Her lovely eyes, lyke Pincks but newly spread ;
 Her goodly bosome, lyke a Strawberry bed ;
 Her neck, lyke to a bounch of Cullambynes ;
 Her brest, lyke lillyes, ere their leaves be shed ;
 Her nipples, lyke young blossomed Jessmynes.
 Such fragrant flowres doe give most odorous smell ;
 But her sweet odour did them all excell.

SONNET LXV.

THE doubt which ye misdeeme, fayre love, is vaine,
 That fondly feare to lose your liberty ;
 When, losing one, two liberties ye gayne,
 And make him bond that bondage earst did fly.
 Sweet be the bands the which true love doth tie
 Without constrainnt, or dread of any ill :
 The gentle birde fees no captivity
 Within her cage ; but sings, and feeds her fill.
 There pride dare not approach, nor discord spill
 The league twixt them that loyal love hath bound ;
 But simple truth, and mutual good will,
 Seeks with sweet peace to salve each others wound :
 There fayth doth fearless dwell in brazen towre,
 And spotlesse pleasure builds her sacred bowre.

SONNET LXVI.

TO all those happy blessings, which ye have
 With plenteous hand by heaven upon you thrown,
 This one disparagement they to you gave,
 That ye your love lent to so meane a one.
 Ye, whose high worths surpassing paragon
 Could not on earth have found one fit for mate,

Ne, but in heaven, matchable to none,
 Why did ye stoop unto so lowly state?
 But ye thereby much greater glory gate,
 Then had ye sorted with a princes pere;
 For now your light doth more it selfe dilate,
 And in my darknesse greater doth appeare.

Yet, since your light hath once enlumind^b me,
 With my reflex yours shall encreased be.

SONNET LXVII.

LYKE as a huntsman after weary chace,
 Seeing the game from him escapt away,
 Sits downe to rest him in some shady place,
 With panting hounds beguiled of their pray:
 So, after long pursuit and vaine assay,
 When I all weary had the chace forfooke,
 The gentle deare returnd the selfe-same way,
 Thinking to quench her thirst at the next brooke:
 There she, beholding me with mylder looke,
 Sought not to fly, but fearlesse still did bide;
 Till I in hand her yet halfe trembling tooke,
 And with her owne goodwill her fymely tyde.

Strange thing, me seemd, to see a beast so wyld,
 So goodly wonne, with her owne will beguyld.

SONNET LXVIII.

MOST glorious Lord of lyfe! that, on this day,
 Didst make thy triumph over death and fin;

^b *bath once enlumind.*] Chaucer's word. See "The Cl. of Ox. Prol." 1063, edit. Urr. speaking of Petrarch—

——— "whose Rhetorike so swete
 " *Enluminid* Itaile of Poetrie."

TODD. Gower also has "enlumined" in "Conf. Am." b. vii. as Richardson shows: we have also met with it before in Spenser; see F. Q. B. ii. C. ix. St. 4; vol. ii. p. 239. C.

And, having harrowd hell,^c didst bring away
 Captivity thence captive, us to win :
 This joyous day, deare Lord, with joy begin ;
 And grant that we, for whom thou diddest dy,
 Being with thy deare blood clene washt from sin,
 May live for ever in felicity !
 And that thy love we weighing worthily,
 May likewise love thee for the same againe ;
 And for thy sake, that all lyke deare didst buy,
 With love may one another entertayne.
 So let us love, deare love, lyke as we ought :
 Love is the lesson which the Lord us taught.

SONNET LXIX.

 HE famous warriors of the anticke world
 Us'd Trophees to erect in stately wize,
 In which they would the records have enrold
 Of theyr great deeds and valarous emprize.
 What trophee then shall I most fit devize,
 In which I may record the memory
 Of my loves conquest, peerelesse beauties prise,
 Adorn'd with honour, love, and chastity ?
 Even this verse, vowd to eternity,
 Shall be thereof immortall moniment,
 And tell her prayse to all posterity,
 That may admire such worlds rare wonderment ;
 The happy purchase of my glorious spoile,
 Gotten at last with labour and long toyle.

^c *And, having harrowd hell.*] Having *conquered* hell. There is an old poem on the subject of Christ's *barrowing* hell. See Mr. Steevens's note on *barrow* in Shakespeare's "Hamlet." TODD. Todd was not aware of it, but the "Harrowing of Hell" is the subject of the oldest known dramatic performance in our language : it belongs, probably, to the reign of Edward II. and is contained in MS. Harl. 2253. The Editor printed twenty-five copies of it in 1836. C.

SONNET LXX.

FRESH Spring, the herald of loves mighty king,
 In whose cote armour richly are displayd
 All sorts of flowres, the which on earth do spring,
 In goodly colours gloriously arrayd,
 Goe to my love, where she is carelesse layd
 Yet in her winters bowre, not well awake;
 Tell her the joyous time wil not be staid,
 Unlesse she doe him by the forelock take;
 Bid her therefore her selfe soone ready make,
 To wayt on love amongst his lovely crew;
 Where every one, that misseth then her make,
 Shall be by him amearst with penance dew.
 Make hast therefore, sweet love, whilst it is prime;
 For none can call againe the passed time.

SONNET LXXI.

JOY to see how, in your drawn work,
 Your selfe unto the Bee ye doe compare;
 And me unto the Spyder, that doth lurke
 In close awayt to catch her unaware:
 Right so your selfe^d were caught in cunning snare
 Of a deare foe, and thrall'd to his love;
 In whose streight bands ye now captived are
 So firmly, that ye never may remove.
 But as your worke is woven all about
 With woodbynd flowers and fragrant Eglantine,
 So sweet your prison you in time shall prove,
 With many deare delights bedecked fyne;
 And all thensforth eternall peace shall see
 Betweene the Spyder and the gentle Bee.

^d *Right so your selfe.*] Todd made nonsense of the line by printing, "Right to your selfe," &c. In the next line but three "about," of the old copies, ought to be *above*. C.

SONNET LXXII.

QFT, when my spirit doth spread her bolder winges,
In mind to mount up to the purest sky,
It down is weighd with thought of earthly things,
And clogd with burden of mortality;
Where, when that soverayne beauty it doth spy,
Resembling heavens glory in her light,
Drawne with sweet pleasures bayt it back doth fly,
And unto heaven forgets her former flight.
There my fraile fancy, fed with full delight,
Doth bathe in blisse, and mantleth most at ease;
Ne thinks of other heaven, but how it might
Her harts desire with most contentment please.
Hart need not wish none other happinesse,
But here on earth to have such heavens blisse.

SONNET LXXIII.

BEING my selfe captived here in care,
My hart, whom none with servile bands can tie,
But the fayre tresses of your golden hayre,
Breaking his prison, forth to you doth fly.
Like as a byrd, that in ones hand doth spy
Desired food, to it doth make his flight;
Even so my hart, that wont on your fayre eye
To feed his fill, flies backe unto your sight.
Doe you him take, and in your bosome bright
Gently encage, that he may be your thrall:
Perhaps he there may learne, with rare delight,
To sing your name and prayses over all;
That it hereafter may you not repent,
Him lodging in your bosome to have lent.

SONNET LXXIV.

MOST happy letters! fram'd by skilfull trade,
 With which that happy name was first defynd,
 The which three times thrise happy hath me made,
 With guifts of body, fortune, and of mind.
 The first my being to me gave by kind,
 From mothers womb deriv'd by dew descent:
 The second is my soveraigne Queene most kind,
 That honour and large richesse to me lent:
 The third, my love, my lives last ornament,
 By whom my spirit out of dust was rayfed,
 To speake her prayse and glory excellent;
 Of all alive most worthy to be prayfed.
 Ye three Elizabeths, for ever live,
 That three such graces did unto me give!

SONNET LXXV.

ONE day I wrote her name upon the strand;
 But came the waves, and washed it away:
 Agayne, I wrote it with a second hand;
 But came the tyde, and made my paynes his pray.
 Vayne man! sayd she, that doest in vaine assay
 A mortall thing so to immortalize;
 For I my selfe shall lyke to this decay,
 And eek my name bee wyped out lykewize.
 Not so (quod I); let baser things devize
 To dy in dust, but you shall live by fame:
 My verse your vertues rare shall eternize,
 And in the heavens wryte your glorious name;
 Where, when as death shall all the world subdew,
 Our love shall live, and later life renew.

SONNET LXXVI.

FAYRE bosome! fraught with vertues richest
treasure,

The neast of love, the lodging of delight,
The bowre of blisse, the paradise of pleasure,
The sacred harbour of that heavenly spright;
How was I ravisht with your lovely sight,
And my frayle thoughts too rashly led astray!
Whiles diving deepe through amorous insight,
On the sweet spoyle of beautie they did pray;
And twixt her paps, like early fruit in May,
Whose harvest seemd to hasten now apace,
They loosely did theyr wanton winges display,
And there to rest themselves did boldly place.

Sweet thoughts! I envy your so happy rest,
Which oft I wisht, yet never was so blest.

SONNET LXXVII.

WAS it a dreame, or did I see it playne?

A goodly table of pure yvory,
All spred with juncats, fit to entertayne
The greatest Prince with pompous roialty?
Mongst which, there in a silver dish did ly
Two golden apples of unvalewd price;
Far passing those which Hercules came by,
Or those which Atalanta did entice:
Exceeding sweet, yet voyd of sinfull vice;
That many fought, yet none could ever taste;
Sweet fruit of pleasure, brought from paradise
By Love himselfe, and in his garden plasht!

Her brest that table was, so richly spredd;
My thoughts the guests which would thereon have
fedd.

SONNET LXXVIII.

LACKYNG my Love, I go from place to place,
 Lyke a young fawne that late hath lost the hynd;
 And seeke each where, where last I sawe her face,
 Whose ymage yet I carry fresh in mynd.
 I seeke the fields with her late footing fynd;
 I seeke her bowre with her late presence deckt;
 Yet nor in field nor bowre I can her fynd,
 Yet field and bowre are full of her aspect:
 But when myne eyes I therunto direct,
 They ydly back returne to me agayne;
 And when I hope to see theyr trew object,
 I fynd my self but fed with fancies vayne.

Ceasse then, myne eyes, to seeke her selfe to see;
 And let my thoughts behold her selfe in mee.

SONNET LXXIX.

MEN call you fayre, and you doe credit it,
 For that your selfe ye daily such doe see;
 But the trew fayre, that is the gentle wit
 And vertuous mind, is much more prayd of me:
 For all the rest, how ever fayre it be,
 Shall turne to nought and loose that glorious hew;
 But onely that is permanent, and free
 From frayle corruption that doth flesh ensue.
 That is true beautie: that doth argue you
 To be divine, and borne of heavenly seed;
 Deriv'd from that fayre Spirit, from whom al true
 And perfect beauty did at first proceed:

He onely fayre, and what he fayre hath made,
 All other fayre, lyke flowres, untymely fade.

SONNET LXXX.

AFTER so long a race as I have run
Through Faery land, which those six books com-
pile,

Give leave to rest me, being halfe foredonne,
And gather to my selfe new breath awhile.
Then, as a steed refreshed after toyle,
Out of my prison I will break anew ;
And stoutly will that second work asswoyle,
With strong endeavour and attention dew.
Till then give leave to me in pleasant mew
To sport my muse, and sing my loves sweet praise ;
The contemplation of whose heavenly hew,
My spirit to an higher pitch will rayse.

But let her prayses^e yet be low and meane,
Fit for the handmayd of the Faery Queene.

SONNET LXXXI.

FAYRE is my Love, when her fayre golden heares
With the loose wynd ye waving chance to marke ;
Fayre, when the rose in her red cheekes appeares,
Or in her eyes the fyre of love does sparke.
Fayre, when her brest, lyke a rich laden barke
With pretious merchandize, she forth doth lay ;
Fayre, when that cloud of pryde, which oft doth dark
Her goodly light, with smiles she drives away :
But fayrest she, when so she doth display
The gate with pearles and rubyes richly dight ;

^e *But let her prayses, &c.*] This concluding couplet is nearly the same as that of Drayton's sixth Eglog, "Shep. Garl." 1593, p. 44.—

"Long may she be, as she hath euer beene,

"The lowly handmaide of the Fayrie Queene."

TODD. Drayton is there speaking of a lady whom he calls Pandora, meaning Lady Pembroke. Spenser's Sonnet was probably posterior in point of date to Drayton's pastoral. C.

Throgh which her words so wise do make their way
 To beare the message of her gentle spright.
 The rest be works of natures wonderment;
 But this the worke of harts astonishment.

SONNET LXXXII.

GUY of my life! full oft for loving you
 I bleſſe my lot that was ſo lucky placed;
 But then, the more your owne miſhap I rew,
 That are ſo much by ſo meane love embafed:
 For, had the equall heavens ſo much you graced
 In this as in the reſt, ye mote invent
 Som heavenly wit, whoſe verſe could have enchaſed
 Your glorious name in golden moniment.
 But ſince ye deignd ſo goodly to relent
 To me your thrall, in whom is little worth,
 That little, that I am, ſhall all be ſpent
 In ſetting your immortal prayſes forth;
 Whoſe lofty argument, uplifting me,
 Shall liſt you up unto an high degree.

SONNET LXXXIII.

LET not one ſparke^f of filthy luſtfull fyre
 Breake out, that may her ſacred peace moleſt;
 Ne one light glance of ſenſuall deſyre
 Attempt to work her gentle mindes unreſt:
 But pure affections bred in ſpotleſſe breſt,
 And modeſt thoughts breathd from well tempred ſpirits,

^f *Let not one ſparke, &c.*] I have omitted Sonnet LXXXIII. in the original and every other edition, becauſe it is the ſame as Sonnet xxxv. This circumſtance has hitherto eſcaped obſervation. TODD. Todd ought to have noticed that there is one verbal difference between the two copies, though not very material: it is in line 6 (p. 133), where “And having it” in one copy of the Sonnet is “And ſeeing it” in another. C.

Goe visit her in her chaste bowre of rest
 Accompanyde with angelick delightes.
 There fill your selfe with those most joyous fights,
 The which my selfe could never yet attayne ;
 But speake no word to her of these sad plights,
 Which her too constant stiffnesse doth constrain.

Onely behold her rare perfection,
 And blesse your fortunes fayre election.

SONNET LXXXIV.

THE world, that cannot deeme of worthy things,
 When I doe praise her, say I doe but flatter :
 So does the Cuckow, when the Mavis sings,
 Begin his witleffe note apace to clatter.
 But they that skill not of so heavenly matter,
 All that they know not envy or admyre ;
 Rather then envy let them wonder at her,
 But not to deeme of her desert aspyre.
 Deepe in the closet of my parts entyre
 Her worth is written with a golden quill,
 That me with heavenly fury doth inspire,
 And my glad mouth with her sweet prayses fill :
 Which when as fame in her shrill trump shal thunder,
 Let the world chose to envy or to wonder.

SONNET LXXXV.

VENEMOUS toung, tipt with vile adders sting,
 Of that selfe kynd with which the Furies fell
 Theyr snaky heads doe combe, from which a spring
 Of poysoned words and spightfull speeches well ;
 Let all the plagues, and horrid paines, of hell
 Upon thee fall for thine accursed hyre ;
 That with false forged lyes, which thou didst tel,
 In my true love did stirre up coles of yre ;

The sparkes whereof let kindle thine own fyre,
 And, catching hold on thine own wicked hed,
 Consume thee quite, that didst with guile conspire
 In my sweet peace such breaches to have bred!
 Shame be thy meed, and mischief thy reward,
 Due to thy selfe, that it for me prepar'd!

SONNET LXXXVI.

SINCE I did leave the presence of my love,
 Many long weary dayes I have outworne,
 And many nights, that slowly seemd to move
 Theyr sad protract^s from evening untill morne:
 For when as day the heaven doth adorne,
 I wish that night the noyous day would end;
 And when as night hath us of light forlorne,
 I wish that day would shortly reascend.
 Thus I the time with expectation spend,
 And faine my grieve with chaunges to beguile,
 That further seemes his terme still to extend,
 And maketh every minute seem a myle.
 So sorrowe still doth seeme too long to last,
 But joyous houres doe fly away too fast.

SONNET LXXXVII.

SINCE I have lackt the comfort of that light,
 The which was wont to lead my thoughts astray,
 I wander as in darknesse of the night,
 Affrayd of every dangers least dismay.
 Ne ought I see, though in the clearest day,
 When others gaze upon theyr shadowes vayne,

^s *Theyr sad protract.*] This substantive, I believe, was first adopted by Spenser. TODD. Richardson, without citing this instance from Spenser, supplies an earlier from the letter of Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyatt, where he speaks of the "further protract and dilation of time:" see his Dictionary in v. C

But th' onely image of that heavenly ray,
 Whereof some glance doth in mine eie remayne :
 Of which beholding the Idæa playne,
 Through contemplation of my purest part,
 With light thereof I doe my felfe sustayne,
 And thereon feed my love-affamisht hart.

But, with such brightnesse whylest I fill my mind,
 I starve my body, and mine eyes doe blynd.

SONNET LXXXVIII.

LYKE as the Culver^h on the bared bough
 Sits mourning for the absence of her mate,
 And in her songs sends many a wishfull vow
 For his returne that seemes to linger late ;
 So I alone, now left disconsolate,
 Mourne to my felfe the absence of my love,
 And, wandring here and there all desolate,
 Seek with my playnts to match that mournful dove :
 Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth hove
 Can comfort me, but her owne joyous sight ;
 Whose sweet aspect both God and man can move,
 In her unspotted pleasauns to delight.

Dark is my day whyles her fayre light I mis,
 And dead my life that wants such lively blis.

^h *Lyke as the Culver.*] *Dove.* So, in Caxton's "*Liber Festivalis*," 1483. Sign. i. iiij. "The offerynge of the riche man was a lambe, and for a poure man a payre of turtys or two *culver* byrdes." TODD.



POEMS.

IN youth before I waxed old,^a
The blynd boy, Venus baby,
For want of cunning made me bold,
In bitter hyve to grope for honny :
But, when he saw me stung and cry,
He tooke his wings and away did fly.

AS Diane hunted on a day,
She chaunst to come where Cupid lay,
His quiver by his head :
One of his shafts she stole away,
And one of hers did close convey
Into the others stead :
With that Love wounded my loves hart,
But Diane beasts with Cupids dart.

I SAW, in secret to my Dame
How little Cupid humbly came,
And said to her ; “ All hayle, my mother ! ”
But when he saw me laugh, for shame

^a *In youth before I waxed old.*] These four short poems immediately follow Spenser's “Amoretti,” and precede his “Epithalamion.” Nothing seems known of their history. Editors have usually styled them “Poem i. Poem ii.” &c. but they have no titles in any of the old impressions. We so continue them. C.

His face with bashfull blood did flame,
 Not knowing Venus from the other.
 "Then, never blush, Cupid (quoth I),
 For many have err'd in this beauty."

UPON a day, as Love lay sweetly flumbring
 All in his mothers lap,
 A gentle Bee, with his loud trumpet murm'ring,
 About him flew by hap :
 Whereof when he was wakened with the noyse, 5
 And saw the beast so small ;
 "Whats this (quoth he) that gives so great a voyce,
 That wakens men withall ?
 In angry wize he flies about,
 And threatens all with corage stout." 10

To whom his mother closely smiling sayd,
 'Twixt earnest and 'twixt game :
 "See! thou thy selfe likewise art lyttle made,
 If thou regard the same ;
 And yet thou suffrest neyther gods in sky, 15
 Nor men in earth, to rest ;
 But when thou art disposed cruelly,
 Theyr sleepe thou doost molest.
 Then eyther change thy cruelty,
 Or give lyke leave unto the fly." 20

Nathlesse, the cruell boy, not so content,
 Would needs the fly pursue ;
 And in his hand, with heedlesse hardiment,
 Him caught for to subdue.
 But when on it he hasty hand did lay, 25
 The Bee him stung therefore :
 "Now out alas, (he cryde) and welaway !
 I wounded am full fore :

The fly that I so much did scorne,
Hath hurt me with his little horne."

30

Unto his mother straight he weeping came,
And of his grieve complained;
Who could not chose but laugh at his fond game,
Though sad to see him pained.
"Think now, (quoth she) my sonne, how great the smart
Of those whom thou dost wound:
Full many thou hast pricked to the hart,
That pitty never found.
Therefore, henceforth some pitty take,
When thou doest spoyle of Lovers make."

36

40

She tooke him streight full pitiously lamenting,
And wrapt him in her smock:
She wrapt him softly, all the while repenting
That he the fly did mock.
She drest his wound, and it embaulmed well
With salve of soveraigne might;
And then she bath'd him in a dainty well,
The well of deare delight.
Who would not oft be stung as this,
To be so bath'd in Venus blis?

45

50

The wanton boy was shortly wel recured
Of that his malady;
But he, soone after, fresh again enured
His former cruelty:
And since that time he wounded hath my selfe
With his sharpe dart of Love;
And now forgets, the cruell carelesse else,
His mothers heast to prove.
So now I languish, till he please
My pining anguish to appease.

55

60



EPITHALAMION.^a



Ye learned sisters, which have oftentimes
 Beene to the ayding, others to adorne,
 Whom ye thought worthy of your grace-
 full rymes,
 That even the greatest did not greatly
 scorne

To heare theyr names sung in your simple layes, 5
 But joyed in theyr praise ;
 And when ye list your own mishaps to mourne,
 Which death, or love, or fortunes wreck did rayse,
 Your string could soone to sadder tenor turne,
 And teach the woods and waters to lament 10
 Your dolefull dreriment :
 Now lay those sorrowfull complaints aside ;
 And having all your heads with girland crownd,
 Helpe me mine owne loves prayfes to resound ;
 Ne let the fame of any be envide : 15

^a *Epithalamion.*] The song of love and jollity, as he calls it, F. Q. i. xii. 38 [vol. ii. p. 80]. Our poets were profuse in compliments of this kind, on the marriages of their friends. See particularly Heyrick's "Poems," edit. 1648, p. 57. And Randolph's "Poems," edit. 1640, p. 34. Puttenham, in his "Arte of English Poesie," is minute in his description of the ceremonies attending the performance of the "Epithalamion," &c. 1586. Todd. Todd errs in his date: Puttenham's work was published in 1589: it is in chap. xxvi. that he treats of "the manner of rejoyfings at mariages and weddings:" p. 40. C.

So Orpheus did for his owne bride,
 So I unto my selfe alone will sing;
 The woods shall to me answer, and my Eccho ring.

EARLY, before the worlds light giving lampe
 His golden beame upon the hils doth spred, 20
 Having disperst the nights unchearefull dampe,
 Doe ye awake; and with fresh lusty hed
 Go to the bowre of my beloved love,
 My truest turtle dove:
 Bid her awake; for Hymen is awake, 25
 And long since ready forth his maske to move,
 With his bright Tead that flames with many a flake,
 And many a bachelor to waite on him,
 In theyr fresh garments trim.
 Bid her awake therefore, and soone her dight, 30
 For lo! the wished day is come at last,
 That shall for al the paynes and sorrowes past
 Pay to her usury of long delight:
 And, whylest she doth her dight,
 Doe ye to her of joy and solace sing, 35
 That all the woods may answer, and your eccho ring.

BRING with you all the Nymphes that you can heare
 Both of the rivers and the Forrests greene,
 And of the sea that neighbours to her neare;
 All with gay girlands goodly wel beseene. 40
 And let them also with them bring in hand
 Another gay girland,
 For my fayre love, of lillyes and of roses,
 Bound truelove wize, with a blew filke riband.
 And let them make great store of bridale poses, 45
 And let them eeke bring store of other flowers,
 To deck the bridale bowers.
 And let the ground whereas her foot shall tread,

For feare the stones her tender foot should wrong,
 Be strewed with fragrant flowers all along, 50
 And diapred lyke the discolored mead.^b
 Which done, doe at her chamber dore awayt,
 For she will waken strayt,
 The whiles do ye this song unto her fing;
 The woods shall to you answer, and your Eccho ring.

YE Nymphes of Mulla, which with carefull heed 56
 The silver scaly trouts do tend full well,
 And greedy pikes which use therein to feed;
 (Those trouts and pikes all others doo excell;)
 And ye likewise, which keepe the rushy lake 60
 Where none doo fishes take,
 Bynd up the locks the which hang scatterd light,
 And in his waters, which your mirror make,
 Behold your faces as the christall bright,
 That when you come whereas my love doth lie, 65
 No blemish she may spie.
 And eke, ye lightfoot mayds, which keepe the dore,
 That on the hoary mountayne use to towre,
 And the wylde wolves which feeke them to deuoure,
 With your steele darts doo chace from comming neer; 70
 Be also present heere,
 To helpe to decke her, and to help to sing,
 That all the woods may answer, and your eccho ring.

^b *And diapred lyke the discolored mead.*] *Diversified*; a word borrowed from Chaucer. See the "Rom. R." 934, edit. Urr.—

"And it was painted well and thwitten,

"And ore all *diapred* and written."

TODD. Chaucer also uses the word *dappled*, and "dapple gray," as applied to a horse, in his "Rime of Sir Topas;" and we are by no means convinced that "diapred" and *dappled* are not the same word, although a different etymology has been given to them: a horse may be called *dappled*, because his coat presents the appearance of being "diapred." C.

WAKE now, my love, awake ! for it is time ;
 The rosy Morne long since left Tithones bed, 75
 All ready to her silver coche to clyme ;
 And Phœbus gins to shew his glorious hed.
 Hark ! how the cheerefull birds do chaunt theyr laies,
 And carroll of loves praise.
 The merry Larke hir mattins sings aloft ; 80
 The Thrush replyes ; the Mavis descant playes ;
 The Ouzell shrills ; the Ruddock warbles soft ;
 So goodly all agree with sweet consent
 To this dayes meriment.
 Ah ! my deere love, why doe ye sleepe thus long, 85
 When meeter were that ye should now awake,
 T' awayt the comming of your joyous make,
 And hearken to the birds lovelearned song,
 The deawy leaves among ?
 For they of joy and pleasance to you sing, 90
 That all the woods them answer, and theyr eccho ring.

My love is now awake out of her dreame,
 And her fayre eyes, like stars that dimmed were
 With darksome cloud, now shew theyr goodly beams
 More bright then Hesperus his head doth rere. 95
 Come now, ye damzels, daughters of delight,
 Helpe quickly her to dight :
 But first come, ye fayre houres, which were begot,
 In Joves sweet paradise, of Day and Night ;
 Which doe the seasons of the year allot, 100
 And al that ever in this world is fayre
 Do make and still repayre :
 And ye three handmayds of the Cyprian Queene,
 The which doe still adorn her beauties pride,
 Helpe to adorne my beautifullest bride : 105
 And, as ye her array, still throw betweene
 Some graces to be feene ;

And, as ye use to Venus, to her fmg,
The whiles the woods shal answer, and your eccho ring.

Now is my love all ready forth to come : 110

Let all the virgins therefore well awayt ;
And ye fresh boyes, that tend upon her groome,
Prepare your selves, for he is comming strayt.

Set all your things in seemely good aray,
Fit for so joyfull day : 115

The joyfullst day that ever Sunne did see.

Fair Sun ! shew forth thy favourable ray,

And let thy lifull heat not fervent be,

For feare of burning her sunshyny face,

Her beauty to disgrace. 120

O fayrest Phœbus ! father of the Muse !

If ever I did honour thee aright,

Or sing the thing that mote thy mind delight,

Doe not thy servants simple boone refuse ;

But let this day, let this one day, be myne ; 125

Let all the rest be thine :

Then I thy soverayne prayses loud wil sing,

That all the woods shal answer, and theyr eccho ring.

HARKE ! how the Minstrels gin to shrill aloud

Their merry Musick that resounds from far, 130

The pipe, the tabor, and the trembling croud,^c

That well agree withouten breach or jar.

But most of all the Damzels doe delite,

When they their tymbrels smyte,

And thereunto doe daunce and carrol sweet, 135

That all the fences they doe ravish quite ;

^c *and the trembling croud.*] The "croud" has generally been explained to mean the *fidicula Britannica* or *fiddle*, and a "crowder" is a *fiddler*. The word is of perpetual occurrence from the time of Chaucer, and even earlier, to that of Butler. Skinner says A. S. *cruth*. C.

The whyles the boyes run up and downe the street,
 Crying aloud with strong confused noyce,
 As if it were one voyce,
 Hymen ! io Hymen ! Hymen ! they do shout ; 140
 That even to the heavens theyr shouting shrill
 Doth reach, and all the firmament doth fill :
 To which the people standing all about,
 As in approvance, doe thereto applaud,
 And loud advaunce her laud ; 145
 And evermore they Hymen, Hymen, sing,
 That all the woods them answer, and theyr eccho ring.

Loe ! where she comes along with portly pace,
 Lyke Phœbe, from her chamber of the East,
 Arysing forth to run her mighty race, 150
 Clad all in white, that seems a virgin best.
 So well it her befeemes, that ye would weene
 Some Angell she had beene.
 Her long loose yellow locks^d lyke golden wyre,
 Sprinckled with perle, and perling flowres a tweene, 155
 Doe lyke a golden mantle her attyre ;
 And being crowned with a girland greene,
 Seem lyke some mayden Queene.
 Her modest eyes, abashed to behold
 So many gazers as on her do stare, 160
 Upon the lowly ground affixed are ;
 Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,

^d *Her long loose yellow locks.*] It is remarkable that Spenser's females, both in the "Faerie Queene," and in his other poems, are all described with *yellow* hair. And, in his general description of the influence of beauty over the bravest men, he particularises *golden* tresses. See F. Q. v. viii. 1 [vol. iii. p. 423]. This is said in compliment to his mistress, as here, and in Sonn. 15 ; or to Queen Elizabeth ; who had both *yellow* hair : or perhaps in imitation of the Italian poets, who give most of their women tresses of this colour. T. WARTON.

But blush to heare her prayfes fung fo loud,
 So farre from being proud.
 Nathleffe, doe ye ftill loud her prayfes fing, 165
 That all the woods may anfwer, and your eccho ring.

TELL me, ye merchants daughters, did ye fee
 So fayre a creature in your towne before,
 So sweet, fo lovely, and fo mild as ſhe,
 Adornd with beautyes grace and vertues ftore? 170
 Her goodly eyes lyke Saphyres ſhining bright,
 Her forehead yvory white,
 Her cheekes lyke apples which the fun hath rudded,
 Her lips lyke cherries charming men to byte,
 Her breſt like to a bowl of cream uncrudded, 175
 Her paps lyke lyllyes budded,
 Her ſnowie necke lyke to a marble towre;
 And all her body like a pallace fayre,
 Aſcending uppe, with many a ſtately ſtayre,
 To honors feat and chaſtities ſweet bowre. 180
 Why ſtand ye ſtill, ye Virgins, in amaze
 Upon her ſo to gaze,
 Whiles ye forget your former lay to ſing,
 To which the woods did anfwer, and your eccho ring?

BUT if ye ſaw that which no eyes can ſee, 185
 The inward beauty of her lively ſpright,
 Garniſht with heavenly guiſts of high degree,
 Much more then would ye wonder at that fight,
 And ſtand aſtoniſht lyke to thoſe which red
 Meduſaes mazeful hed. 190
 There dwells ſweet love, and conſtant chaſtity,
 Unſpotted fayth, and comely womanhood,
 Regard of honour, and mild modeſty;
 There vertue raynes as Queene in royal throne,
 And giveth lawes alone, 195

The which the base affections doe obay,
 And yeeld theyr services unto her will ;
 Ne thought of things uncomely ever may
 Thereto approach to tempt her mind to ill.
 Had ye once seene these her celestial treasures, 200
 And unrevealed pleasures,
 Then would ye wonder, and her prayes sing,
 That all the woods should answer, and your eccho ring.

OPEN the temple gates unto my love !
 Open them wide that she may enter in, 205
 And all the postes adorne as doth behove,
 And all the pillours deck with girlands trim,
 For to receyve this Saynt with honour dew
 That commeth in to you.
 With trembling steps, and humble reverence, 210
 She commeth in before th' Almightyes vew :
 Of her, ye virgins, learne obedience,
 When so ye come into those holy places,
 To humble your proud faces.
 Bring her up to th' high altar, that she may 215
 The sacred ceremonies there partake,
 The which do endlesse matrimony make ;
 And let the roring Organs loudly play
 The praises of the Lord in lively notes ;
 The whiles, with hollow throates, 220
 The Choristers the joyous Antheme sing,
 That all the woods may answere, and their eccho ring.

BEHOLD, whiles she before the altar stands,
 Hearing the holy priest that to her speakes,
 And bleffeth her with his two happy hands, 225
 How the red roses flush up in her cheekes,
 And the pure snow, with goodly vermill stayne,
 Like crimsin dyde in grayne ;

That even the Angels, which continually
 About the sacred altare doe remaine, 230
 Forget their service and about her fly,
 Ofte peeping in her face, that seemes more fayre,
 The more they on it stare.
 But her sad eyes, still fastened on the ground,
 Are governed with goodly modesty, 235
 That suffers not one look to glaunce awry,
 Which may let in a little thought unfownd.
 Why blush ye, love, to give to me your hand,
 The pledge of all our band?
 Sing, ye sweet Angels, Alleluya sing, 240
 That all the woods may answere, and your eccho ring.

Now al is done: bring home the Bride againe;
 Bring home the triumph of our victory;
 Bring home with you the glory of her gaine,
 With joyance bring her and with jollity. 245
 Never had man more joyfull day then this,
 Whom heaven would heape with blis.
 Make feast therefore now all this live long day;
 This day for ever to me holy is.
 Poure out the wine without restraint or stay, 250
 Poure not by cups, but by the belly full,
 Poure out to all that wull,
 And sprinkle all the posts and wals with wine,
 That they may sweat, and drunken be withall.
 Crowne ye God Bacchus with a coronall, 255
 And Hymen also crowne with wreathes of vine;
 And let the Graces daunce unto the rest,
 For they can doo it best:
 The whiles the maydens doe theyr carroll sing,
 To which the woods shal answer, and theyr eccho ring.

RING ye the bells, ye yong men of the towne, 261

And leave your wonted labors for this day :
 This day is holy ; doe ye write it downe,
 That ye for ever it remember may.
 This day the funne is in his chiefeſt hight, 265
 With Barnaby the bright,
 From whence declining daily by degrees,
 He ſomewhat loſeth of his heat and light,
 When once the Crab behind his back he fees.
 But for this time it ill ordained was, 270
 To chooſe the longeſt day in all the yeare,
 And ſhorteſt night, when longeſt fitter weare :
 Yet never day ſo long but late would paſſe.
 Ring ye the bells, to make it weare away,
 And bonefiers make all day ; 275
 And daunce about them, and about them ſing,
 That all the woods may anſwer, and your eccho ring.

AH ! when will this long weary day have end,
 And lende me leave to come unto my love ?
 How flowly do the houres theyr numbers ſpend ; 280
 How flowly does ſad Time his feathers move !
 Haſt thee, O fayreſt Planet ! to thy home
 Within the Weſterne fome :
 Thy tyred ſteedes long ſince have need of reſt.
 Long though it be, at laſt I ſee it gloome, 285
 And the bright evening ſtar with golden creſt
 Appeare out of the Eaſt.
 Fayre childe of beauty ! glorious lampe of love !
 That all the hoſt of heaven in rankes dooſt lead,
 And guideſt lovers through the nights ſad dread,^e 290

^e *the nights ſad dread.*] This epithet was wanting till the firſt folio was published. Todd. We are not at all convinced of the neceſſity for “ſad;” Spenser may have written “nightes,” as a diſſyllable, a not at all unuſual practice with him. However, as ſome alteration muſt be made, we follow the folio 1611. C.

How chearefully thou lookest from above,
 And seemst to laugh atweene thy twinkling light,
 As joying in the fight
 Of these glad many, which for joy do sing,
 That all the woods them answer, and their echo ring. 295

Now cease, ye damfels, your delights forepast;
 Enough is it that all the day was yours:
 Now day is doen, and night is nighing fast,
 Now bring the Bryde into the brydall bowres.
 The night is come, now soone her disaray, 300
 And in her bed her lay;
 Lay her in lillies and in violets,
 And filken courteins over her display,
 And odour'd sheets, and Arras coverlets.
 Behold how goodly my faire love does ly, 305
 In proud humility!
 Like unto Maia, when as Jove her took
 In Tempe, lying on the flowry gras,
 Twixt sleepe and wake, after she weary was,
 With bathing in the Acidalian brooke. 310
 Now it is night, ye damfels may be gone,
 And leave my love alone;
 And leave likewise your former lay to sing:
 The woods no more shal answer, nor your echo ring.

Now welcome, night! thou night so long expected, 315
 That long daies labour doest at last defray,
 And all my cares, which cruell love collected,
 Hast sum'd in one, and cancelled for aye:
 Spread thy broad wing over my love and me,
 That no man may us see; 320
 And in thy sable mantle us enwrap,
 From feare of perrill and foule horror free.
 Let no false treason seeke us to entrap,

Nor any dread disquiet once annoy
 The safety of our joy ; 325
 But let the night be calme and quietsome,
 Without tempestuous storms or sad afay :
 Lyke as when Jove with fayre Alcmena lay,
 When he begot the great Tirynthian groome :
 Or lyke as when he with thy selfe did lie, 330
 And begot Majesty.
 And let the mayds and yongmen cease to sing ;
 Ne let the woods them answer, nor theyr eccho ring.

LET no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares,
 Be heard all night within, nor yet without : 335
 Ne let false whispers, breeding hidden feares,
 Breake gentle sleepe with misconceived dout.
 Let no deluding dreames, nor dreadful fights,
 Make sudden sad affrights ;
 Ne let housefyres, nor lightnings helpless harmes, 340
 Ne let the Pouke,^f nor other evill sprights,
 Ne let mischivous witches with theyr charmes,
 Ne let hob goblins, names whose sense we see not,
 Fray us with things that be not ;
 Let not the shrieck Owle, nor the Storke, be heard ; 345
 Nor the night Raven, that still deadly yels ;
 Nor damned ghosts, cald up with mighty spels ;
 Nor griesly vultures make us once affeard :
 Ne let th' unpleasant quyre of Frogs still croking
 Make us to wish theyr choking. 350

^f *Ne let the Pouke.*] We are persuaded that *Pouke*, the reading of the old impressions, ought to be "Pouke," as we have printed it, and it was always written and printed so of old, excepting, we believe, in this instance: the turning of the letter *u* was the origin of a blunder, which has till now continued in Spenser's text. The "Pouke" is the *Puck* of whom Shakespeare made such use: he was also sometimes called Robin Goodfellow and *Hob-goblin*; but Spenser speaks of "hob goblins" separately afterwards. C.

Let none of these theyr drery accents sing ;
Ne let the woods them answer, nor theyr eccho ring.

BUT let still Silence trew night watches keepe,
That sacred peace may in assurance rayne,
And tymely sleepe, when it is tyme to sleepe, 355
May poure his limbs forth on your pleasant playne ;
The whiles an hundred little winged loves,
Like divers fethered doves,
Shall fly and flutter round about the bed,
And in the secret darke, that none reproves 360
Their pretie stealthes shall worke, and snares shal spread
To filch away sweet snatches of delight,
Conceald through covert night.
Ye sonnes of Venus, play your sports at will ;
For greedy pleasure, carelesse of your toyes, 365
Thinks more upon her paradise of joyes,
Then what ye do, albe it good or ill.
All night therefore attend your merry play,
For it will soone be day :
Now none doth hinder you, that say or sing ; 370
Ne will the woods now answer, nor your Eccho ring.

WHO is the same, which at my window peepes,
Or whose is that faire face that shines so bright ?
Is it not Cinthia, she that never sleepest,
But walkes about high heaven al the night ? 375
O, fayrest goddesse ! do thou not envy
My Love with me to spy ;
For thou likewise didst love, though now unthought,
And for a fleece of woll, which privily
The Latmian shephard^s once unto thee brought, 380

^s *The Latmian shephard.*] It is "*Latinian shephard*" in the first edition. Of course, the allusion is to Endymion, respecting whose loves Drayton wrote and printed a separate poem in 1594, under the title of "*Endymion and Phœbe*," of which only one copy is known. C.

His pleasures with thee wrought.
 Therefore to us be favorable now ;
 And fith of wemens labours thou hast charge,
 And generation goodly dost enlarge,
 Encline thy will t' effect our wishfull vow, 385
 And the chaste womb informe with timely seed,
 That may our comfort breed :
 Till which we cease our hopefull hap to sing ;
 Ne let the woods us answere, nor our Eccho ring.

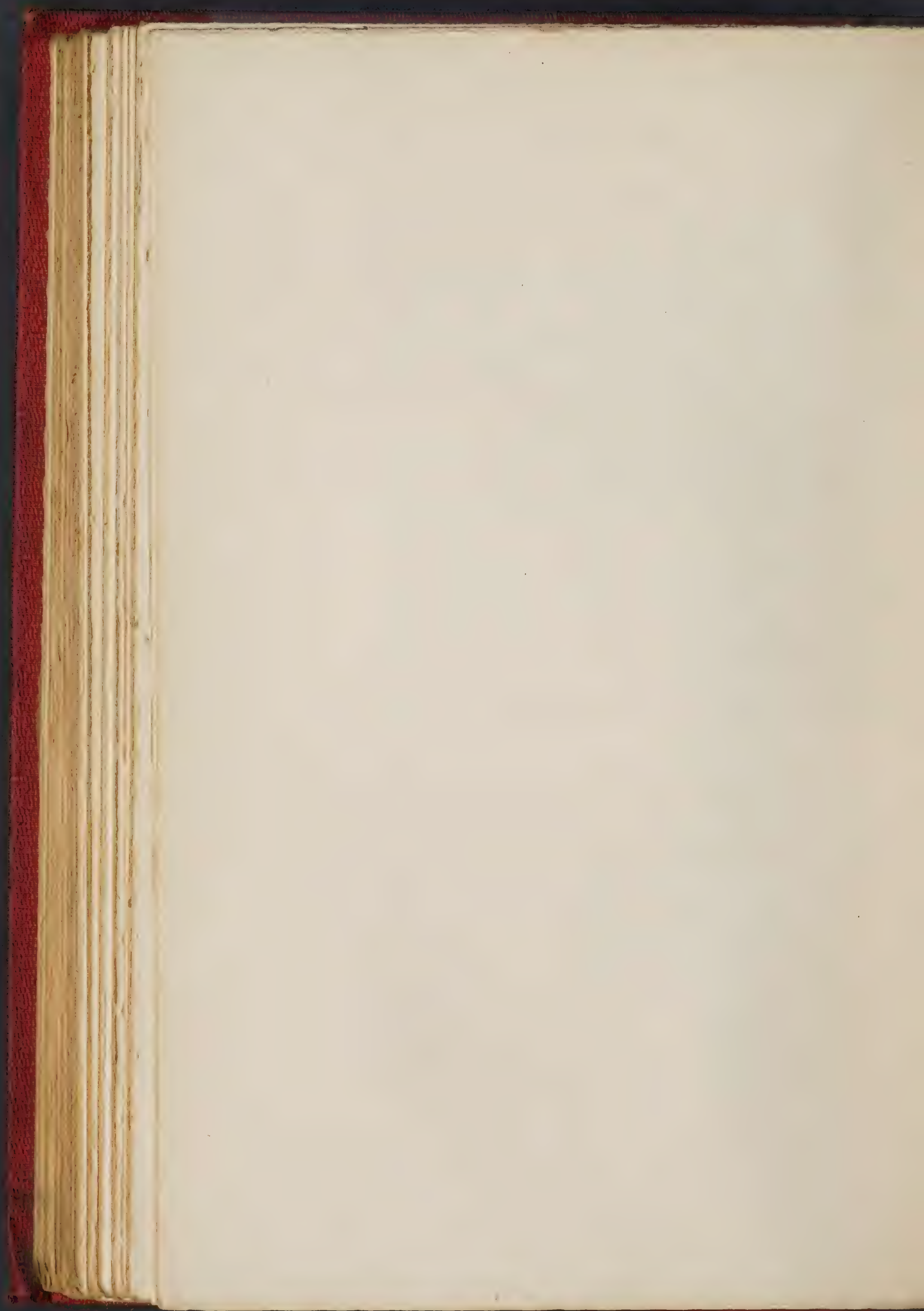
AND thou, great Juno, which with awful might 390
 The lawes of wedlock still dost patronize,
 And the religion of the faith first plight
 With sacred rites hast taught to solemnize ;
 And eke for comfort often called art
 Of women in their smart ; 395
 Eternally bind thou this lovely band,
 And all thy blessings unto us impart.
 And thou, glad Genius, in whose gentle hand
 The bridale bowre and geniall bed remaine,
 Without blemish or staine ; 400
 And the sweet pleasures of theyr loves delight
 With secret ayde doest succour and supply,
 Till they bring forth the fruitfull progeny ;
 Send us the timely fruit of this same night :
 And thou, fayre Hebe, and thou, Hymen free, 405
 Grant that it may so be !
 Till which we cease your further prayse to sing ;
 Ne any woods shal answer, nor your Eccho ring.

AND ye high heavens, the temple of the gods,
 In which a thousand torches flaming bright 410
 Doe burne, that to us wretched earthly clods
 In dreadful darknesse lend desired light ;
 And all ye powers which in the same remayne,

More than we men can fayne,
 Poure out your blessing on us plentiouſly, 415
 And happy influence upon us raine,
 That we may raiſe a large poſterity,
 Which from the earth, which they may long poſſeſſe
 With laſting happineſſe,
 Up to your haughty pallaces may mount : 420
 And, for the guerdon of theyr glorious merit,
 May heavenly tabernacles there inherit,
 Of bleſſed Saints for to increaſe the count.
 So let us reſt, ſweet love, in hope of this,
 And ceaſe till then our tymely joyes to ſing, 425
 The woods no more us anſwer, nor our eccho ring.

SONG ! made in lieu of many ornaments,
 With which my love ſhould duly have been deſt,
 Which cutting off through haſty accidents,
 Ye would not ſtay your dew time to expect, 430
 But promiſt both to recompens ;
 Be unto her a goodly ornament,
 And for ſhort time an endleſſe moniment !





FOWRE HYMNES,

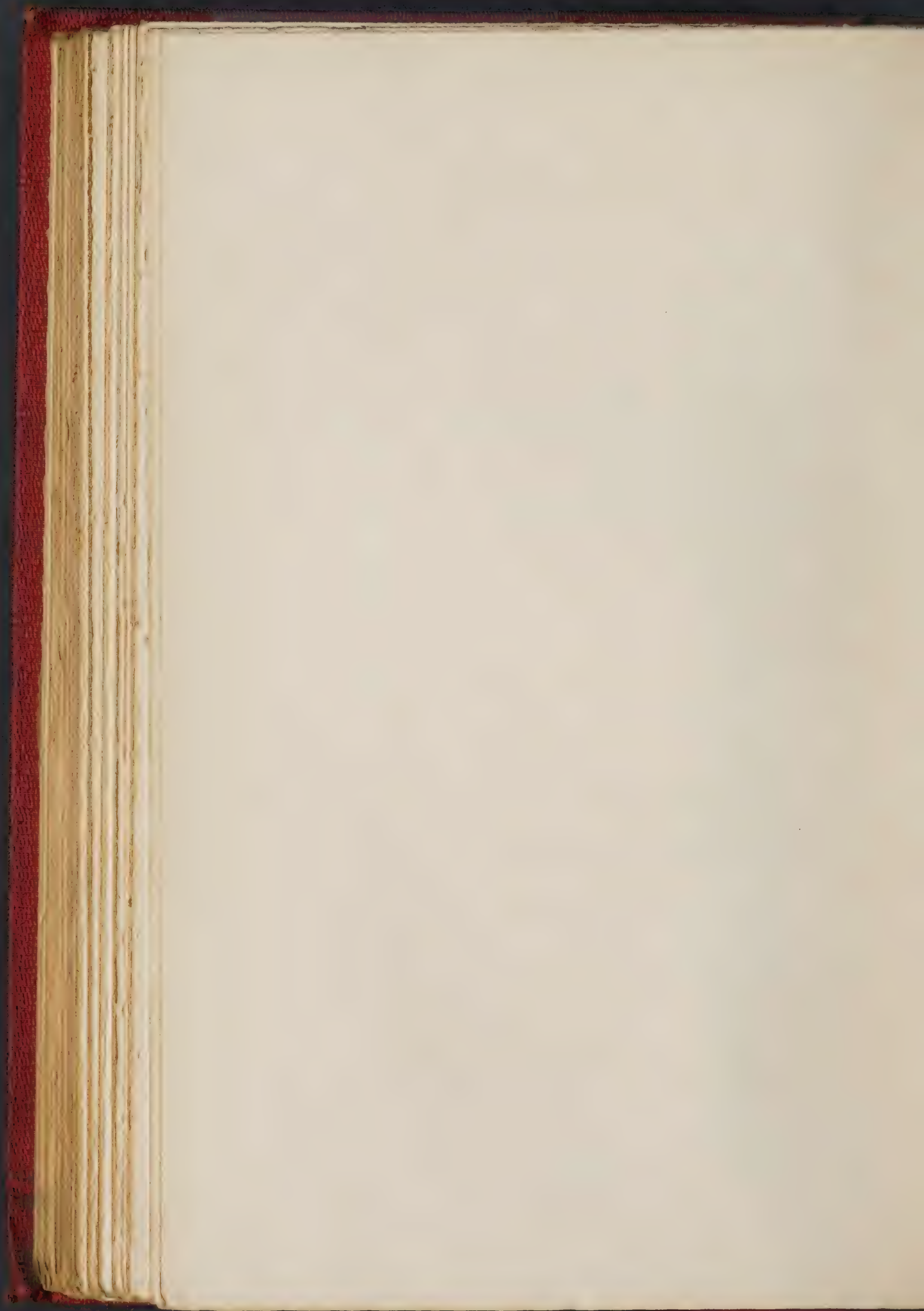
MADE BY

EDM. SPENSER.

LONDON,

Printed for William Ponsonby.

1596.



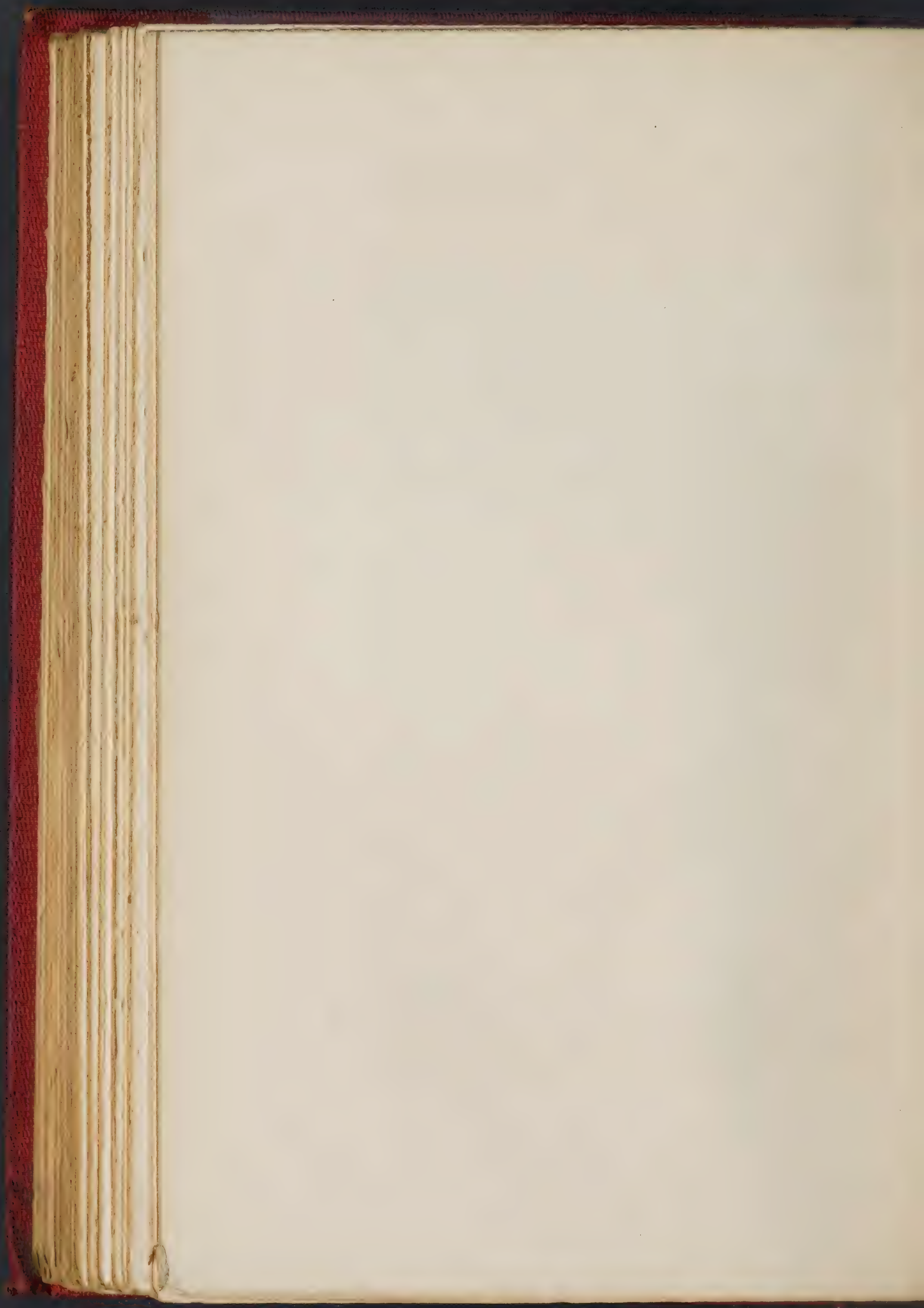
*To the Right Honorable and most vertuous Ladies, the
LADIE MARGARET, Countesse of Cumberland; and the
LADIE MARIE, Countesse of Warwick.^a*

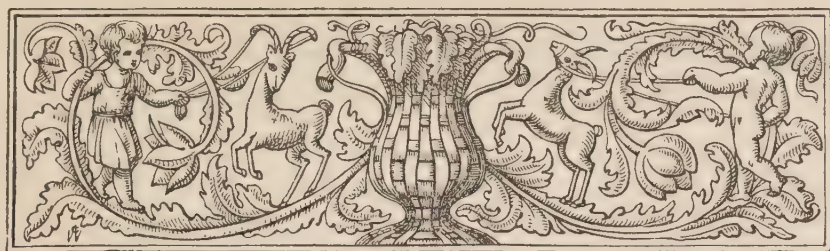
HAVING, in the greener times of my youth, composed these former two Hymnes in the praise of Love and Beautie, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which, being too vehemently caried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then honey to their honest delight, I was moved, by the one of you two most excellent Ladies, to call in the same. But, being unable so to doe, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolved at least to amend, and, by way of retractation, to reforme them, making, in stead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall love and beautie, two others of heavenly and celestially. The which I doe dedicate joyntly unto you two honorable sisters, as to the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true love and beautie, both in the one and the other kinde; humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe the patronage of them, and to accept this my humble service, in lieu of the great graces and honourable favours which ye dayly shew unto me, until such time as I may, by better meanes, yeeld you some more notable testimonie of my thankfull mind and dutifull devotion. And even so I pray for your happinesse. Greenwich this first of September, 1596. Your Honors most bounden ever,

in all humble service,

ED. SP.

^a *Marie, Countesse of Warwick.*] Her name was not Mary, but Anne: this mistake was pointed out by Malone; but it stands Marie in the old editions. In the body of the epistle Todd read *retraction* for "retractation" of all the early copies. C.





AN HYMNE IN HONOUR OF LOVE.



LOVE, that long since hast to thy mighty
powre
Perforce subdude my poore captived hart,
And raging now therein with restlessse
stowre,

Doeft tyrannize in everie weaker part,
Faine would I seeke to ease my bitter smart
By any service I might do to thee,
Or ought that else might to thee pleasing bee.

5

And now t' assuage the force of this new flame,
And make thee more propitious in my need,
I meane to sing the praises of thy name,
And thy victorious conquests to areed,
By which thou madeest many harts to bleed
Of mighty Victors, with wide wounds embrewed,
And by thy cruell darts to thee subdewed.

10

Onely I fear my wits, enfeebled late
Through the sharpe sorrowes which thou hast me bred,
Should faint, and words should faile me to relate
The wondrous triumphs of thy great godhed :
But if thou wouldst vouchsafe to overspred

15

Me with the shadow of thy gentle wing,
I should enabled be thy actes to sing.

20

Come, then, O come! thou mightie God of love,
Out of thy silver bowres and secret blisse,
Where thou doest sit in Venus lap above,
Bathing thy wings in her ambrosiall kisse,
That sweeter farre than any nectar is;
Come softly, and my feeble breast inspire
With gentle furie, kindled of thy fire.

25

And ye, sweet Muses, which have often proved
The piercing points of his avengefull darts;
And ye, fair Nymphs, which oftentimes have loved
The cruell worker of your kindly smarts,
Prepare your selves, and open wide your harts
For to receive the triumph of your glorie,
That made you merie oft when ye were forie.

30

35

And ye, faire blossoms of youths wanton breed,
Which in the conquests of your beautie boist,
Wherewith your lovers feeble eyes you feed,
But sterue their harts that needeth nourture most,
Prepare your selves to march amongst his host,
And all the way this sacred Hymne do sing,
Made in the honor of your Sovereaine king.

40

GREAT GOD OF MIGHT, that reigneest in the mynd,
And all the bodie to thy heft doest frame,
Victor of gods, subduer of mankynd,
That doest the Lions and fell Tigers tame,
Making their cruell rage thy scornfull game,
And in their roring taking great delight,
Who can expresse the glorie of thy might?

45

Or who alive can perfectly declare 50
The wondrous cradle of thine infancie,
When thy great mother Venus first thee bare,
Begot of Plenty and of Penurie,
Though elder then thine own nativitie,
And yet a chyld, renewing still thy yeares, 55
And yet the eldest of the heavenly Peares?

For ere this worlds still moving mightie masse
Out of great Chaos ugly prision crept,
In which his goodly face long hidden was
From heavens view, and in deepe darknesse kept, 60
Love, that had now long time securely slept
In Venus lap, unarmed then and naked,
Gan reare his head, by Clotho being waked :

And taking to him wings of his own heate,
Kindled at first from heavens life-giving fyre, 65
He gan to move out of his idle feate ;
Weakely at first, but after with desyre
Lifted aloft, he gan to mount up hyre,
And, like fresh Eagle, made his hardie flight
Through all that great wide waft, yet wanting light. 70

Yet wanting light to guide his wandring way,
His own faire mother, for all creatures sake,
Did lend him light from her owne goodly ray :
Then through the world his way he gan to take,
The world that was not till he did it make, 75
Whose fundrie parts he from them selves did sever,
The which before had lyen confused ever.

The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,
Then gan to raunge them selves in huge array,
And with contrary forces to conspyre 80

Each against other by all meanes they may,
Threatning their owne confusion and decay :
Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
Till Love relented their rebellious yre.

He then them tooke, and, tempering goodly well 85
Their contrary dislikes with loved meanes,
Did place them all in order, and compell
To keepe them selves within their fundrie raines,
Together linkt with adamantine chaines ;
Yet so, as that in every living wight 90
They mix themselves, and shew their kindly might.

So ever since they firmly have remained,
And duly well observed his behest ;
Through which now all these things that are contained
Within this goodly cope, both most and least, 95
Their being have, and daily are increast
Through secret sparks of his infused fyre,
Which in the barraine cold he doth inspyre.

Thereby they all do live, and moved are
To multiply the likenesse of their kynd, 100
Whilest they seeke onely, without further care,
To quench the flame which they in burning fynd ;
But man that breathes a more immortall mynd,
Not for lusts sake, but for eternitie,
Seekes to enlarge his lasting progenie. 105

For having yet in his deducted spright
Some sparks remaining of that heavenly fyre,
He is enlumind with that goodly light,
Unto like goodly semblant to aspyre :
Therefore in choice of love he doth desyre 110

That seemes on earth most heavenly to embrace ;
That fame is Beautie, borne of heavenly race.

For fure, of all that in this mortall frame
Contained is, nought more divine doth seeme,
Or that resembleth more th' immortall flame 115
Of heavenly light, than Beauties glorious beam.
What wonder then, if with such rage extreme
Fraile men, whose eyes seek heavenly things to see,
At fight thereof so much enravisht bee !

Which well perceiving, that imperious boy 120
Doth therewith tip his sharp empoisoned darts,
Which glancing thro the eyes with countenance coy^b
Rest not till they have pierst the trembling harts,
And kindled flame in all their inner parts,
Which suckes the blood, and drinketh up the lyfe, 125
Of carefull wretches with consuming grieve.

Thenceforth they playne, and make ful piteous mone
Unto the author of their balefull bane :
The daies they waste, the nights they grieve and grone,
Their lives they loath, and heavens light disdaine : 130
No light but that, whose lampe doth yet remaine
Fresh burning in the image of their eye,
They deigne to see, and seeing it still dye.

The whylst thou, tyrant Love, doest laugh and scorne
At their complaints, making their paine thy play, 135
Whylest they lye languishing like thralls forlorne,
The whyles thou doest triumph in their decay ;
And otherwhyles, their dying to delay,

^b *with countenance coy.*] Read rather, "*from count'nance coy.*" T.
WARTON. All the old editions have "with." C.

Thou doest emmarble the proud hart^c of her
Whose love before their life they doe prefer.

140

So hast thou often done (ay me, the more !)
To me thy vassall, whose yet bleeding hart
With thousand wounds thou mangled hast so fore,
That whole remaines scarfe any little part ;
Yet, to augment the anguish of my smart,
Thou hast enfrosen her disdainefull brest,
That no one drop of pitie there doth rest.

145

Why then do I this honor unto thee,
Thus to ennoble thy victorious name,
Sith thou doest shew no favour unto mee,
Ne once move ruth in that rebellious Dame,
Somewhat to slacke the rigour of my flame ?
Certes small glory doest thou winne hereby,
To let her live thus free, and me to dy.

150

But if thou be indeede, as men thee call,
The worlds great Parent, the most kind preserver
Of living wights, the soveraine Lord of all,
How falles it then that with thy furious fervour
Thou doest afflict as well the not deserver,
As him that doeth thy lovely heasts despize,
And on thy subjects most doth tyrannize ?

155

160

Yet herein eke thy glory seemeth more,
By so hard handling those which best thee serve,

^c *Thou doest emmarble the proud hart.*] This elegant and expressive verb is unnoticed by all our lexicographers. Todd. Todd himself altered it to *enmarble*, in his edit. of Johnson: Richardson has "emmarble," and observes that in some impressions of Spenser it stands *enmarble*: it is not so in any of the ancient copies. Whether we take it as "emmarble," or *enmarble*, Spenser is, we apprehend, the only writer who has used the word. C.

That, ere thou doest them unto grace restore,
 Thou mayest well trie if they will ever swerve,^d 165
 And mayest them make it better to deserve,
 And, having got it, may it more esteeme;
 For things hard gotten men more dearely deeme.

So hard those heavenly beauties be enfyred,
 As things divine least passions doe impresse, 170
 The more of stedfast mynds to be admyred,
 The more they stayd be on stedfastnesse;
 But baseborne minds such lamps regard the lesse,
 Which at first blowing take not hastie fyre:
 Such fancies feele no love, but loose desyre. 175

For love is Lord of truth and loialtie,
 Lifting himsele out of the lowly dust
 On golden plumes up to the purest skie,
 Above the reach of loathly sinfull lust,
 Whose base affect through cowardly distrust 180
 Of his weake wings dare not to heaven fly,
 But like a moldwarpe in the earth doth ly.

His dunghill thoughts, which do themselves enure
 To dirtie drosse, no higher dare aspyre,
 Ne can his feeble earthly eyes endure 185
 The flaming light of that celestially fyre
 Which kindleth love in generous desyre,
 And makes him mount above the native might
 Of heavie earth, up to the heavens hight.

^d *if they will ever swerve.*] Todd here read, "*if thou wilt ever swerve,*" which does not at all expresse the meaning of the poet. So, in the first line of the next stanza, he printed "*those heavenly beauties be enfyred,*" which is also evidently wrong. The old copies are uniform in giving the true text, and Todd would probably have noted the variations had they not been accidental in his edition. C.

Such is the powre of that sweet passion,
 That it all fordid basenesse doth expell,
 And the refyned mynd doth newly fashion
 Unto a fairer forme, which now doth dwell
 In his high thought, that would it selfe excell,
 Which he beholding still with constant sight,
 Admires the mirrour of so heavenly light.

190

195

Whose image printing in his deepest wit,
 He thereon feeds his hungrie fantasy,
 Still full, yet never fatisfyde with it ;
 Like Tantale that in store doth sterved ly,
 So doth he pine in most satiety ;
 For nought may quench his infinite desyre,
 Once kindled through that first conceived fyre.

200

Thereon his mynd affixed wholly is,
 Ne thinks on ought but how it to attaine ;
 His care, his joy, his hope, is all on this,
 That seemes in it all blisses to containe,
 In sight whereof all other blisse seemes vaine :
 Thrice happie man ! might he the same possesse,
 He faines himselfe, and doth his fortune blesse.

205

210

And though he do not win his wish to end,
 Yet thus farre happie he him selfe doth weene,
 That heavens such happie grace did to him lend,
 As thing on earth so heavenly to have seene
 His harts enshrined saint, his heavens queene,
 Fairer then fairest, in his fayning eye,
 Whose sole aspect he counts felicitye.

215

Then forth he casts in his unquiet thought,
 What he may do, her favour to obtaine ;
 What brave exploit, what perill hardly wrought,

220

What puissant conquest, what adventurous paine,
 May please her best, and grace unto him gaine :
 He dreads no danger, nor misfortune feares,
 His faith, his fortune, in his breast he beares.

Thou art his god, thou art his mightie guyde, 225
 Thou, being blind, letst him not see his feares,
 But cariest him to that which he had eyde,
 Through seas, through flames, through thousand swords
 and speares ;
 Ne ought so strong that may his force withstand,
 With which thou armeest his resistlesse hand. 230

Witnesse Leander in the Euxine waves,
 And stout Æneas in the Trojane fyre,
 Achilles preassing through the Phrygian glaives,^c
 And Orpheus, daring to provoke the yre
 Of damned fiends, to get his love retyre ; 235
 For both through heaven and hell thou makest way,
 To win them worship which to thee obay.

And if by all these perils, and these paynes,
 He may but purchase lyking in her eye,
 What heavens of joy then to himselfe he faynes ! 240
 Eftsoones he wypes quite out of memory
 What ever ill before he did aby :
 Had it bene death, yet would he die againe,
 To live thus happie as her grace to gaine.

Yet when he hath found favour to his will, 245
 He nathemore can so contented rest,
 But forceth further on, and striveth still

^c *through the Phrygian glaives.*] *Swords.* See the notes on F. Q. iv. vii. 28 [vol. iii. p. 203]. TODD.

T' approach more neare, till in her inmost brest
 He may embosomd bee and loved best;
 And yet not best, but to be lov'd alone,
 For love cannot endure a Paragone.

250

The fear whereof, O! how doth it torment
 His troubled mynd with more than hellish paine;
 And to his fayning fanfie represent
 Sights never seene, and thousand shadowes vaine,
 To breake his sleepe, and waste his ydle braine:
 Thou that hast never lov'd canst not beleewe
 Least part of th' evils which poore lovers greeve.

255

The gnawing envie, the hart-fretting feare,
 The vaine surmizes, the distrustfull shoves,
 The false reports that flying tales doe beare,
 The doubts, the daungers, the delayes, the woes,
 The fayned friends, the unassured foes,
 With thousands more then any tongue can tell,
 Doe make a lovers life a wretches hell.

260

265

Yet is there one more curfed then they all,
 That cancker-worme, that monster, Gelosie,
 Which eates the heart and feedes upon the gall,
 Turning all loves delight to miserie,
 Through feare of loosing his felicitie.
 Ah, Gods! that ever ye that monster placed
 In gentle love, that all his joyes defaced!

270

By these, O Love! thou doest thy entrance make
 Unto thy heaven, and doest the more endeere
 Thy pleasures unto those which them partake:
 As after stormes, when clouds begin to cleare,
 The Sunne more bright and glorious doth appeare,

275

So thou thy folke, through paines of Purgatorie,
Dost beare unto thy blisse, and heavens glorie.

There thou them placest in a Paradize 280
Of all delight and joyous happy rest,
Where they doe feede on nectar heavenly wize,
With Hercules and Hebe, and the rest
Of Venus dearlings, through her bountie blest ;
And lie like Gods in yvorie beds arayd, 285
With rose and lillies over them displayd.

There with thy daughter Pleasure they doe play
Their hurtlesse sports, without rebuke or blame,
And in her snowy bosome boldly lay
Their quiet heads, devoyd of guilty shame, 290
After full joyance of their gentle game ;
Then her they crowne their Goddesse and their Queene,
And decke with floures thy altars well beseene.

Ay me ! deare Lord, that ever I might hope,
For all the paines and woes that I endure, 295
To come at length unto the wished scope
Of my desire, or might my selfe assure
That happie port for ever to recure !
Then would I thinke these paines no paines at all,
And all my woes to be but penance small. 300

Then would I sing of thine immortall praise
An heavenly Hymne, such as the Angels sing,
And thy triumphant name then would I raise
Bove all the gods, thee only honoring ;
My guide, my god, my victor, and my king : 305
Till then, dread Lord ! vouchsafe to take of me
This simple song, thus fram'd in praise of thee.

AN HYMNE IN HONOUR OF BEAUTIE.



H! whither, Love, wilt thou now carrie
mee?

What wontlesse fury dost thou now inspire
Into my feeble breast, too full of thee?
Whylest seeking to aslake thy raging fyre,
Thou in me kindlest much more great defyre, 5
And up aloft above my strength doth rayse
The wondrous matter of my fyre to prayse.

That as I earst, in praise of thine owne name,
So now in honour of thy Mother deare,
An honourable Hymne I eke should frame, 10
And with the brightnesse of her beautie cleare,
The ravisht hearts of gazefull men might reare
To admiration of that heavenly light,
From whence proceeds such soule enchaunting might.

Therto do thou, great Goddesse! queene of Beauty, 15
Mother of Love, and of all worlds delight,
Without whose soverayne grace and kindly dewty
Nothing on earth seemes fayre to fleshly fight,
Doe thou vouchsafe with thy love-kindling light
T' illuminate my dim and dulled eyne, 20
And beautifie this sacred hymne of thyne:

That both to thee, to whom I meane it most,
And eke to her, whose faire immortall beame
Hath darted fyre into my feeble ghost,
That now it wasted is with woes extreame, 25

It may so please, that she at length will streame^f
 Some dew of grace into my withered hart,
 After long sorrow and consuming smart.

WHAT TIME THIS WORLDS GREAT WORKMAISTER did
 cast

To make al things such as we now behold, 30
 It seems that he before his eyes had plapt
 A goodly Paterne, to whose perfect mould
 He fashiond them as comely as he could,
 That now so faire and seemely they appeare,
 As nought may be amended any wheare. 35

That wondrous Paterne, wherefoere it bee,
 Whether in earth layd up in secret store,
 Or else in heaven, that no man may it see
 With finfull eyes, for feare it to deflore,
 Is perfect Beautie, which all men adore; 40
 Whose face and feature doth so much excell
 All mortall sence, that none the same may tell.

Thereof as every earthly thing partakes
 Or more or lesse, by influence divine,
 So it more faire accordingly it makes, 45
 And the grosse matter of this earthly myne,
 Which closeth it thereafter, doth refyne,
 Doing away the drosse which dims the light
 Of that faire beame which therein is empight.

For through infusion of celestiall powre, 50
 The duller earth it quickneth with delight,
 And life-full spirits privily doth powre

^f *that she at length will streame.*] *Send forth*, as in ver. 56—"Thou into them dost streame." TODD.

Through all the parts, that to the lookers fight
 They seeme to please. That is thy soveraine might,
 O Cyprian queene! which, flowing from the beame 55
 Of thy bright starre, thou into them doest streame.

That is the thing which giveth pleasant grace
 To all things faire, that kindleth lively fyre,
 Light of thy lampe; which, shyning in the face,
 Thence to the foule darts amorous defyre, 60
 And robs the harts of those which it admyre:
 Therewith thou pointest thy Sons poyfined arrow,
 That wounds the life, and wastes the inmost marrow.

How vainely then doe ydle wits invent,
 That beautie is nought else but mixture made 65
 Of colours faire, and goodly temp'rament
 Of pure complexions, that shall quickly fade
 And passe away, like to a sommers shade;
 Or that it is but comely composition
 Of parts well measurd with meet disposition! 70

Hath white and red in it such wondrous powre,
 That it can pierce through th' eyes unto the hart,
 And therein stirre such rage and restlesse stowre,
 As nought but death can stint his dolours smart?
 Or can proportion of the outward part 75
 Move such affection in the inward mynd,
 That it can rob both sense and reason blynd?

Why doe not then the blossomes of the field,
 Which are arayd with much more orient hew,
 And to the sense most daintie odours yield, 80
 Worke like impressiion in the lookers vew?
 Or why doe not faire pictures like powre shew,

In which oft-times we Nature see of Art
Exceld, in perfect limming every part?

But ah! beleeve me there is more then so, 85
That workes such wonders in the minds of men;
I, that have often prov'd, too well it know,
And who so list the like assayes to ken,
Shall find by trial, and confesse it then,
That Beautie is not, as fond men misdeeme, 90
An outward shew of things that onely seeme:

For that same goodly hew of white and red,
With which the cheekes are sprinckled, shal decay,
And those sweete rosy leaves, so fairly spred
Upon the lips, shall fade and fall away 95
To that they were, even to corrupted clay:
That golden wyre, those sparckling stars so bright,
Shall turne to dust, and loose their goodly light.

But that faire lampe, from whose celestially ray
That light proceedes, which kindleth lovers fire, 100
Shall never be extinguisht nor decay;
But, when the vitall spirits doe expyre,
Unto her native planet shall retyre,
For it is heavenly borne and cannot die,
Being a parcell of the purest skie. 105

For when the soule, the which derived was
At first out of that great immortall Spright
By whom all live to love, whilome did pas
Down from the top of purest heavens hight
To be embodied here, it then tooke light 110
And lively spirits from that fayrest starre
Which lights the world forth from his fire carre.

Which powre retayning still or more or lesse,
 When she in fleshly seede is eft enraced,
 Through every part she doth the same impresse, 115
 According as the heavens have her graced;
 And frames her house, in which she will be placed,
 Fit for her selfe, adorning it with spoyle
 Of th' heavenly riches which she robd erewhyle.

Thereof it comes that these faire soules, which have 120
 The most resemblance of that heavenly light,
 Frame to themselves most beautifull and brave
 Their fleshly bowre, most fit for their delight,
 And the grosse matter by a soveraine might
 Tempers so trim, that it may well be seene 125
 A pallace fit for such a virgin Queene.

So every spirit, as it is most pure,
 And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
 So it the fairer bodie doth procure
 To habit in, and it more fairely dight 130
 With chearefull grace and amiable fight:
 For of the soule the bodie forme doth take;
 For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make.

Therefore where ever that thou doest behold
 A comely corpe, with beautie faire endewed, 135
 Know this for certaine, that the same doth hold
 A beauteous soule, with fair conditions thewed,
 Fit to receive the seede of vertue strewed;
 For all that faire is, is by nature good:
 That is a signe to know the gentle blood. 140

Yet oft it falles that many a gentle mynd
 Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,
 Either by chaunce, against the course of kynd,

Or through unaptneſſe in the ſubſtance fownd;
Which it aſſumed of ſome ſtubborne grownd, 145
That will not yield unto her formes direction,
But is perform'd with ſome foule imperfection.

And oft it falles, (ay me, the more to rew!)
That goodly beautie, albe heavenly borne,
Is foule abuſd, and that ceſtiall hew, 150
Which doth the world with her delight adorne,
Made but the bait of finne, and finners ſcorne,
Whileſt every one doth ſeeke and ſew to have it,
But every one doth ſeeke but to deprave it.

Yet nathemore is that faire beauties blame, 155
But theirs that do abuſe it unto ill:
Nothing ſo good, but that through guilty ſhame
May be corrupt, and wreſted unto will.
Natheleſſe the foule is faire and beauteous ſtill,
However fleſhes fault it filthy make; 160
For things immortall no corruption take.

But ye, faire Dames! the worlds deare ornaments,
And lively images of heavens light,
Let not your beames with ſuch diſparagements
Be dimd, and your bright glorie darkned quight; 165
But, mindfull ſtill of your firſt countries fight,
Doe ſtill preſerve your firſt informed grace,
Whoſe ſhadow yet ſhynes in your beauteous face.

Loath that foule blot, that helliſh fierbrand,
Diſloiall luſt, fair beauties fouleſt blame, 170
That baſe affections, which your eares would bland
Commend to you by loves abuſed name,
But is indeede the bondſlave of defame;

Which will the garland of your glorie marre,
And quench the light of your bright shyning starre. 175

But gentle love, that loiall is and trew,
Will more illumine your resplendent ray,
And adde more brightnesse to your goodly hew,
From light of his pure fire; which, by like way
Kindled of yours, your likenesse doth display : 180
Like as two mirrours, by opposd reflection,
Doe both expresse the faces first impressiō.

Therefore, to make your beautie more appeare,
It you behoves to love, and forth to lay
That heavenly riches which in you ye beare, 185
That men the more admyre their fountaine may;
For else what booteth that celestially ray,
If it in darknesse be enshrined ever,
That it of loving eyes be vewed never?

But, in your choice of loves, this well advize, 190
That likest to your selves ye them select,
The which your forms first source may sympathize,
And with like beauties parts be inly deckt;
For if you loosely love without respect,
It is not love, but a discordant warre, 195
Whose unlike parts amongst themselves do jarre:

For love is a celestially harmonie
Of likely harts composd of starres concent,
Which joyne together in sweete sympathie,
To work ech others joy and true content, 200
Which they have harbourd since their first descent
Out of their heavenly bowres, where they did see
And know ech other here belov'd to bee.

Then wrong it were that any other twaine
Should in loves gentle band combyned bee, 205
But those whom heaven did at first ordaine,
And made out of one mould the more t' agree :
For all that like the beautie which they see
Streight do not love ; for love is not so light
As streight to burne at first beholders fight. 210

But they which love indeede looke otherwise
With pure regard and spotlesse true intent,
Drawing out of the object of their eyes
A more refyned forme, which they present
Unto their mind voide of all blemishment ; 215
Which it reducing to her first perfection,
Beholdeth free from fleshes frayle infection.

And then conforming it unto the light,
Which in it selfe it hath remaining still,
Of that first Sunne, yet sparckling in his fight, 220
Thereof he fashions in his higher skill
An heavenly beautie to his fancies will ;
And it embracing in his mind entyre,
The mirrour of his owne thought doth admyre.

Which seeing now so inly faire to be, 225
As outward it appeareth to the eye,
And with his spirits proportion to agree,
He thereon fixeth all his fantasie,
And fully fetteth his felicitie ;
Counting it fairer then it is indeede, 230
And yet indeede her fairnesse doth exceede.

For lovers eyes more sharply fighted bee
Then other mens, and in deare loves delight
See more then any other eyes can see,

Through mutuall receipt of beames bright,
Which carrie privie message to the spright;
And to their eyes that inmost faire display,
As plaine as light discovers dawning day.

235

Therein they see, through amorous eye-glaunces,
Armies of Loves still flying too and fro,
Which dart at them their litle fierie launces;
Whom having wounded, backe againe they go,
Carrying compassion to their lovely foe;
Who, seeing her faire eyes so sharpe effect,
Cures all their sorrowes with one sweete aspect.

240

245

In which how many wonders doe they reede
To their concept, that others never see!
Now of her smiles, with which their soules they feede,
Like Gods with nectar in their bankets free;
Now of her lookes, which like to cordials bee:
But when her words embassade forth she sends,
Lord, how sweete musicke that unto them lends!

250

Sometimes upon her forehead they behold
A thousand graces masking in delight;
Sometimes within her eye-lids they unfold
Ten thousand sweet belgards, which to their sight
Doe seeme like twinckling starres in frostie night;
But on her lips, like rosy buds in May,
So many millions of chaste pleasures play.

255

All those, O Cytherea! and thousands more
Thy handmaides be, which do on thee attend
To decke thy beautie with their dainties store,
That may it more to mortall eyes commend,
And make it more admyr'd of foe and frend;

260

That in mens harts thou mayst thy throne enstall, 265
And spread thy lovely kingdome over all.

Then Iö, triumph! O great beauties Queene,
Advance the banner of thy conquest hie,
That all this world, the which thy vassals beene,
May draw to thee, and with dew fealtie 270
Adore the powre of thy great Majestie,
Singing this Hymne in honour of thy name,
Compyld by me which thy poore liegeman am!

In lieu whereof graunt, O great Soveraine!
That she, whose conquering beauty doth captive 275
My trembling hart in her eternall chaine,
One drop of grace at length will to me give,
That I her bounden thrall by her may live,
And this same life, which first fro me she reaved,
May owe to her, of whom I it receaved. 280

And you faire Venus dearling, my dear dread!
Fresh flowre of grace, great Goddesse of my life,
When your faire eyes these fearefull lines shal read,
Deigne to let fall one drop of dew reliefe,
That may recure my harts long pynning griefe, 285
And shew what wondrous powre your beauty hath,
That can restore a damned wight from death.



AN HYMNE OF HEAVENLY LOVE.^g

LOVE, lift me up upon thy golden wings
 From this base world unto thy heavens
 hight,
 Where I may see those admirable things
 Which there thou workest by thy fove-
 raine might,
 Farre above feeble reach of earthly fight,
 That I thereof an heavenly Hymne may sing
 Unto the god of Love, high heavens king.

Many lewd layes (ah, woe is me the more!)
 In praise of that mad fit which fooles call love,
 I have in th' heat of youth made heretofore,
 That in light wits did loose affection move;
 But all those follies now I do reprove,
 And turned have the tenor of my string,
 The heavenly prayfes of true love to sing.

And ye that wont with greedy vaine desire
 To reade my fault, and wondring at my flame,
 To warme your selves at my wide sparckling fire,

^g *An Hymne of heavenly Love.*] See the fixth canto of the third Book of the F. Q., especially the second, and the thirty-second stanzas [vol. ii. pp. 445, 455]; which, with his "Hymnes of Heavenly Love" and "Heavenly Beauty," are evident proofs of Spenser's attachment to the Platonic School. The notions of his friend, Sir P. Sidney, who, with many others of that age, had a strong Platonic cast, perhaps contributed not a little to fix Spenser's choice on the subject of the "Hymnes." Take Sir Philip's own words in his "Defence of Poesie:"—"That lyrical kind of songs and sonnets—which—how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruits both in publicke and private, in singing the praises of the 'immortal Beauty.'" T. WARTON.

Sith now that heat is quenched, quench my blame,
 And in her ashes shrowd my dying flame,
 For who my passed follies now pursfewes, 20
 Beginnes his owne, and my old fault renewes.

BEFORE THIS WORLDS GREAT FRAME,^h in which al
 things
 Are now containd, found any being place,
 Ere flitting Time could wag his eyas wingsⁱ
 About that mightie bound which doth embrace 25
 The rolling Spheres, and parts their houres by space,
 That high eternall powre, which now doth move
 In all these things, mov'd in it selfe by love.

It lov'd it selfe, because it selfe was faire ;
 (For fair is lov'd ;) and of it selfe begot 30
 Like to it selfe his eldest sonne and heire,
 Eternall, pure, and voide of sinfull blot,
 The firstling of his joy, in whom no jot
 Of loves dislike or pride was to be found,
 Whom he therefore with equall honour crownd. 35

With him he raignd, before all time prescribed,
 In endlesse glorie and immortall might,
 Together with that third from them derived,
 Most wise, most holy, most almightie Spright !
 Whose kingdomes throne no thoughts of earthly wight 40

^h *Before this worlds great frame, &c.*] The following Hymn contains a remarkable mixture of the Christian and Platonic doctrines and expressions. This, however, was not uncommon among our writers in Spenser's time. At a period very little later, the same study appears to have excited great attention abroad: see a most elaborate and curious work, entitled "*Christianæ Theologiæ cum Platonica Comparatio, &c.* Bononiæ, 1627." fol. TODD.

ⁱ *could wag his eyas wings.*] His wings as yet imperfectly fledged, not *unfledged*, as Todd interprets the word "*eyas*." See F. Q. vol. ii. p. 59, where, in a note, this line is quoted. C.

Can comprehend, much lesse my trembling verse
With equall words can hope it to reherse.

Yet, O most blessed Spirit! pure lampe of light,
Eternall spring of grace and wisedome trew,
Vouchsafe to shed into my barren spright 45
Some little drop of thy celestiall dew,
That may my rymes with sweet infuse embrew,
And give me words equall unto my thought,
To tell the marveiles by thy mercie wrought.

Yet being pregnant still with powrefull grace, 50
And full of fruitfull love, that loves to get
Things like himselfe, and to enlarge his race,
His second brood, though not of powre so great,
Yet full of beautie, next he did beget,
An infinite increase of Angels bright, 55
All glistring glorious in their Makers light.

To them the heavens illimitable hight
(Not this round heaven, which we from hence behold,
Adorn'd with thousand lamps of burning light,
And with ten thousand gemmes of shyning gold) 60
He gave as their inheritance to hold,
That they might serve him in eternal blis,
And be partakers of those joyes of his.

There they in their trinall triplicities
About him wait, and on his will depend, 65
Either with nimble wings to cut the skies,
When he them on his messages doth send,
Or on his owne dread presence to attend,
Where they behold the glorie of his light,
And caroll Hymnes of love both day and night. 70

Both day, and night, is unto them all one;
 For he his beames doth unto them extend,
 That darknesse there appeareth never none;
 Ne hath their day, ne hath their blisse, an end,
 But there their termelesse time in pleasure spend : 75
 Ne ever should their happinesse decay,
 Had not they dar'd their Lord to disobay.

But pride, impatient of long resting peace,
 Did puffe them up with greedy bold ambition,
 That they gan cast their state how to increase 80
 Above the fortune of their first condition,
 And sit in Gods own seat without commission:
 The brightest Angel, even the child of light,
 Drew millions more against their God to fight.

Th' Almighty, seeing their so bold assay, 85
 Kindled the flame of his consuming yre,
 And with his onely breath them blew away
 From heavens hight, to which they did aspyre,
 To deepest hell, and lake of damned fyre,
 Where they in darknesse and dread horror dwell, 90
 Hating the happie light from which they fell.

So that next off-spring of the Makers love,
 Next to himselfe in glorious degree,
 Degendering to hate,^j fell from above
 Through pride, (for pride and love may ill agree) 95
 And now of finne to all ensample bee;
 How then can sinfull flesh it selfe assure,
 Sith purest Angels fell to be impure?

^j *Degendering to hate.*] *Degenerating.* See the note on the Introduction to F. Q. B. 5. St. 2 [vol. iii. p. 306]. TODD.

But that eternall fount of love and grace,
 Still flowing forth his goodnesse unto all, 100
 Now seeing left a waste and emptie place
 In his wyde pallace, through those Angels fall,
 Cast to supply the same, and to enstall
 A new unknownen Colony therein,
 Whose root from earths base groundworke shold begin.

Therefore of clay, base, vile, and next to nought, 106
 Yet form'd by wondrous skill, and by his might,
 According to an heavenly patterne wrought,
 Which he had fashiond in his wise foresight,
 He man did make; and breathd a living spright 110
 Into his face, most beautifull and fayre,
 Endewd with wisedomes riches, heavenly, rare.

Such he him made, that he resemble might
 Himselfe, as mortall thing immortall could:
 Him to be lord of every living wight 115
 He made by love out of his owne like mould,
 In whom he might his mightie selfe behould;^k
 For love doth love the thing belov'd to see,
 That like it selfe in lovely shape may bee.

But man, forgetfull of his Makers grace 120
 No lesse then Angels, whom he did enslew,
 Fell from the hope of promist heavenly place,
 Into the mouth of death, to sinners dew,
 And all his off-spring into thraldome threw,
 Where they for ever should in bonds remaine 125
 Of never dead yet ever dying paine.

Till that great Lord of Love, which him at first
 Made of meere love, and after liked well,

^k *his mightie selfe behould.*] Why Todd placed a hyphen between "selfe" and "behold"—*selfe-behold*—we cannot imagine. C.

Seeing him lie like creature long accurst
 In that deep horror of despeyred hell,
 Him, wretch, in doole would let no lenger dwell,
 But cast out of that bondage to redeeme,
 And pay the price, all were his debt extreeme.

130

Out of the bosome of eternall blisse,
 In which he reigned with his glorious Syre,
 He downe descended, like a most demisse¹
 And abject thrall, in fleshes fraile attyre,
 That he for him might pay finnes deadly hyre,
 And him restore unto that happie state
 In which he stood before his haplesse fate.

135

140

In flesh at first the guilt committed was,
 Therefore in flesh it must be satisfyde;
 Nor spirit, nor Angel, though they man surpas,
 Could make amends to God for mans misguyde,
 But onely man himselfe, who selfe did flyde:
 So, taking flesh of sacred virgins wombe,
 For mans deare sake he did a man become.

145

And that most blessed bodie, which was borne
 Without all blemish or reprochfull blame,
 He freely gave to be both rent and torne
 Of cruell hands, who with despightfull shame
 Revyling him, that them most vile became,
 At length him nailed on a gallow tree,
 And slew the just by most unjust decree.

150

O huge and most unspeakeable impression
 Of loves deep wound, that pierst the piteous hart

155

¹ like a most demisse.] *Humble.* Lat. *demissus.* TODD.

Of that deare Lord with so entyre affection,
 And sharply launching every inner part,
 Dolours of death into his foule did dart,
 Doing him die that never it deserved, 160
 To free his foes, that from his heast had swerved!

What hart can feel least touch of so fore launch,
 Or thought can think the depth of so deare wound,
 Whose bleeding fource their streames yet never staunch,
 But stil do flow, and freshly still redound 165
 To heale the fores of finfull foules unsound,
 And clense the guilt of that infected cryme
 Which was enrooted in all fleshly flyme?

O blessed well of love! O floure of grace!
 O glorious Morning-Starre! O lampe of Light! 170
 Most lively image of thy Fathers face,
 Eternal King of Glorie, Lord of might,
 Meeke Lambe of God, before all worlds behight,
 How can we thee requite for all this good?
 Or what can prize that thy most precious blood? 175

Yet nought thou ask'st in lieu of all this love,
 But love of us for guerdon of thy paine:
 Ay me! what can us lesse then that behove?
 Had he required life for us againe,
 Had it beene wrong to ask his owne with gaine? 180
 He gave us life, he it restored lost;
 Then life were least, that us so little cost.

But he our life hath left unto us free,
 Free that was thrall, and blessed that was band;^m

^m *and blessed that was band.*] i. e. and blessed that was *curfed*. See Mr. Upton's note, F. Q. v. xi. 12. [vol. iv. p. 5]. TODD.

HYMNES.

213

Ne ought demaunds but that we loving bee,
As he himfelfe hath lov'd us aforehand,
And bound therto with an eternall band,
Him firft to love that was fo dearely bought,
And next our brethren, to his image wrought.

185

Him firft to love great right and reason is,
Who firft to us our life and being gave,
And after, when we fared had amiffe,
Us wretches from the fecond death did fave ;
And laft, the food of life, which now we have,
Even he himfelfe, in his deare facrament,
To feede our hungry foules, unto us lent.

190

195

Then next, to love our brethren that were made
Of that felfe mould, and that felf Maker's hand,
That we, and to the fame againe fhall fade,
Where they fhall have like heritage of land,
How ever here on higher fteps we ftand,
Which alfo were with felfe fame price redeemed
That we, how ever of us light eftimated.

200

And were they not, yet fince that loving Lord
Commaunded us to love them for his fake,
Even for his fake, and for his facred word,
Which in his laft bequeft he to us fpake,
We fhould them love, and with their needs partake ;
Knowing that, whatfoere to them we give,
We give to him by whom we all doe live.

205

210

Such mercy he by his moft holy reede
Unto us taught, and to approve it trew,
Enfampled it by his moft righteous deede,
Shewing us mercie, miserable crew !
That we the like fhould to the wretches fhew,

215

And love our brethren ; thereby to approve
How much himfelfe that loved us we love.

Then rouze thy felfe, O earth ! out of thy foyle,
In which thou walloweft like to filthy fwyne,
And doeft thy mynd in durty pleasures moyle,ⁿ
Unmindfull of that deareft Lord of thyne ;
Lift up to him thy heavie clouded eyne,
That thou this foveraine bountie mayft behold,
And read through love his mercies manifold.

220

Beginne from firft, where he encradled was
In fimple cratch,^o wrapt in a wad of hay,
Betweene the toylfull Oxe and humble Affe,
And in what rags, and in how bafe aray,
The glory of our heavenly riches lay,
When him the filly Shepherds came to fee,
Whom greateft Princes fought on loweft knee.

225

230

From thence reade on the ftorie of his life,
His humble carriage, his unfaulty wayes,
His cancred foes, his fights, his toyle, his strife,
His paines, his povertie, his fharp affayes,
Through which he paff his miserable dayes,
Offending none, and doing good to all,
Yet being malift both by great and fmall.

235

And looke at laft, how of moft wretched wights
He taken was, betrayd, and falfe accused,

240

ⁿ *in durty pleasures moyle.*] *Defile.* See Cotgrave in V: "To moyle, *souiller*, &c. to foyle, to defile." Hence the expreffion, to which Spenser here alludes, "*Se fouiller*, of a fwine, i. e. to take foyle, or wallow in the mire." TODD.

^o *In fimple cratch.*] See Cotgrave in V: "*Creiche*, a CRATCH, racke, ox-ftall, or crib, &c." TODD. Bifhop Hall, as Richardson shows, fpeaks of "Bethlehem's *cratch*" in his anthem on Chriftnas-day. The Fr. *creiche*, or *creicche*, is from the Lat. *crates*. C.

How with most scornfull taunts, and fell despights
He was revyld, disgraft, and foule abused ;
How scourgd, how crownd, how buffeted, how brused ;
And, lastly, how twixt robbers crucifyde,
With bitter wounds through hands, through feet, and
fyde !

245

Then let thy flinty hart, that feeles no paine,
Empierced be with pittifull remorse,
And let thy bowels bleede in every vaine,
At sight of his most sacred heavenly corse,
So torne and mangled with malicious forse ;
And let thy soule, whose fins his sorrows wrought,
Melt into teares, and grone in grieved thought.

250

With sence whereof, whilest so thy softened spirit
Is inly toucht, and humbled with meeke zeale
Through meditation of his endlesse merit,
Lift up thy mind to th' Author of thy weale,
And to his soveraine mercie doe appeale ;
Learne him to love that loved thee so deare,
And in thy brest his blessed image beare.

255

With all thy hart, with all thy soule and mind,
Thou must him love, and his beheafts embrace :
All other loves, with which the world doth blind
Weake fancies, and stirre up affections base,
Thou must renounce and utterly displace,
And give thy selfe unto him full and free,
That full and freely gave himselfe to thee.

260

265

Then shalt thou feele thy spirit so posselt,
And ravisht with devouring great desire
Of his deare selfe, that shall thy feeble brest
Inflame with love, and set thee all on fire

270

With burning zeale, through every part entire,
That in no earthly thing thou shalt delight,
But in his sweet and amiable fight.

Thenceforth all worlds desire will in thee dye,
And all earthes glorie, on which men do gaze,
Seeme durt and drosse in thy pure fighted eye,
Compar'd to that celestiall beauties blaze,
Whose glorious beames all fleshly sense doth daze
With admiration of their passing light,
Blinding the eyes, and lumining the spright.

275

280

Then shall thy ravisht soul inspired bee
With heavenly thoughts, farre above humane skil,
And thy bright radiant eyes shall plainly see
Th' Idee of his pure glorie present still
Before thy face, that all thy spirits shall fill
With sweete enragement of celestiall love,
Kindled through sight of those faire things above.

285



AN HYMNE ON HEAVENLY BEAUTIE.

APT with the rage of mine owne ravisht
 thought,
 Through contemplation of those goodly
 fights,
 And glorious Images in heaven wrought,
 Whose wondrous beauty, breathing sweet delights,
 Do kindle love in high conceited sprights, 5
 I faine to tell the things that I behold,
 But feele my wits to faile, and tongue to fold.^p

Vouchsafe then, O thou most Almighty Spright!
 From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow,
 To fhed into my breast some sparkling light 10
 Of thine eternall Truth, that I may show
 Some little beames to mortall eyes below
 Of that immortall beautie, there with thee,
 Which in my weake diftraughted mynd^q I fee;

That with the glorie of fo goodly fight 15
 The hearts of men, which fondly here admyre

^p *and tongue to fold.*] Possibly the poet here means that we should take "fold" in the sense of *fault* or *falter*, and not that his tongue literally *doubled*, or folded. C.

^q *my weake diftraughted mynd.*] *Distracted* mind. So, in Chaucer's "Lament. Marie Magd." ver. 149, edit. Urr.—

"Whiche rufull fight when that I gan beholde,

"Out of my witte I almost tho *diftraught*,

"I tare my here, &c."

TODD. Few words are of more frequent occurrence in our old poets. C.

Faire seeming shewes, and feed on vaine delight,
 Transported with celestiallyl desyre
 Of those faire formes, may lift themselves up hyer,
 And learne to love, with zealous humble dewty, 20
 Th' eternall fountaine of that heavenly beauty.

Beginning then below, with th' easie vew
 Of this base world, subject to fleshly eye,
 From thence to mount aloft, by order dew,
 To contemplation of th' immortall sky, 25
 Of the soare Faulcon so I learne to flye,
 That flags a while her fluttering wings beneath,
 Till she her selfe for stronger flight can breath.

Then looke, who lift thy gazefull eyes to feed
 With sight of that is faire, looke on the frame 30
 Of this wyde Universe, and therein reed
 The endlesse kinds of creatures which by name
 Thou canst not count, much less their natures aime;
 All which are made with wondrous wise respect,
 And all with admirable beautie deckt. 35

First, th' Earth, on adamantine pillers founded
 Amid the Sea, engirt with brazen bands;
 Then th' Aire still flitting, but yet firmly bounded
 On everie side, with pyles of flaming brands
 Never consum'd, nor quencht with mortall hands; 40
 And, last, that mightie shining cristall wall,
 Wherewith he hath encompassed this All.

By view whereof it plainly may appeare,
 That still as every thing doth upward tend,
 And further is from earth, so still more cleare 45
 And faire it growes, till to his perfect end
 Of purest beautie it at last ascend;

Ayre more then water, fire much more then ayre,
And heaven then fire appeares more pure and fayre.

Looke thou no further, but affixe thine eye 50
On that bright fhynie round ftill moving maffe,
The houle of bleffed God, which men call Skye,
All fowd with gliftring ftars more thicke then grafle,
Whereof each other doth in brightneffe paffe,
But thofe two moft, which, ruling night and day, 55
As King and Queene the heavens empire fway ;

And tell me then, what haft thou ever feene
That to their beautie may compared bee,
Or can the fight that is moft sharpe and keene
Endure their Captaines^r flaming head to fee ? 60
How much leffe thofe, much higher in degree,
And fo much fairer, and much more than thefe,
As thefe are fairer then the land and feas ?

For farre above thefe heavens, which here we fee,
Be others farre exceeding thefe in light, 65
Not bounded, not corrupt, as thefe fame bee,
But infinite in largeneffe and in hight,
Unmoving, uncorrupt, and spotleffe bright,
That need no Sunne t' illuminate their fpheres,
But their owne native light farre paffing theirs. 70

And as thefe heavens ftill by degrees arize,
Until they come to their firft Movers bound,
That in his mightie compaffe doth comprize,
And carrie all the reft with him around ;
So thofe likewise doe by degrees redound, 75

^r *Endure their Captaines.*] *The fun's.* T. WARTON.

And rise more faire, till they at last arive
To the most faire, whereto they all do strive.

Faire is the heaven where happy foules have place
In full enjoyment of felicitie,
Whence they doe still behold the glorious face
Of the divine eternall Majestie ;
More faire is that, where those Idees on hie
Enraunged be, which Plato so admyred,
And pure Intelligences from God inspyred.

80

Yet fairer is that heaven, in which do raine
The soveraigne Powres and mightie Potentates,
Which in their high protections doe containe
All mortall Princes and imperiall States ;
And fayrer yet, whereas the royall Seates
And heavenly Dominations are set,
From whom all earthly governance is fet.

85

90

Yet farre more faire be those bright Cherubins,
Which all with golden wings are overdight,
And those eternall burning Seraphins,
Which from their faces dart out fierie light ;
Yet fairer then they both, and much more bright,
Be th' Angels and Archangels, which attend
On Gods owne person without rest or end.

95

These thus in faire each other farre excelling,
As to the Higheft they approach more near,
Yet is that Higheft farre beyond all telling,
Fairer then all the rest which there appeare,
Though all their beauties joyn'd together were ;
How then can mortall tongue hope to expresse
The image of such endlesse perfectnesse ?

100

105

Cease then, my tongue, and lend unto my mynd
 Leave to bethinke how great that beautie is,
 Whose utmost parts so beautifull I fynd;
 How much more those essentiall parts of his,
 His truth, his love, his wisedome, and his blis, 110
 His grace, his doome, his mercy, and his might,
 By which he lends us of himselfe a fight.

Those unto all he daily doth display,
 And shew himselfe in th' image of his grace,
 As in a looking-glasse, through which he may 115
 Be seene of all his creatures vile and base,
 That are unable else to see his face,
 His glorious face! which glistereth else so bright,
 That th' Angels selves can not endure his fight.

But we, fraile wights! whose fight cannot sustaine 120
 The suns bright beames^s when he on us doth shyne,
 But that their points rebutted backe againe
 Are duld, how can we see with feeble eyne
 The glorie of that Majestie divine,
 In fight of whom both sun and moone are darke, 125
 Compared to his least resplendent sparke?

The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent
 Him to behold, is on his workes to looke,
 Which he hath made in beauty excellent,
 And in the same, as in a brazen booke, 130
 To read enregistred in every nooke
 His goodnesse, which his beautie doth declare;
 For all thats good is beautifull and faire.

^s *The suns bright beames.*] The folio 1611 improperly alters the text here to "The *sun-bright* beames," &c. C.

Thence gathering plumes of perfect speculation
 To impe the wings of thy high flying mynd, 135
 Mount up aloft, through heavenly contemplation,
 From this darke world, whose damps the foule do blynd,
 And, like the native brood of Eagles kynd,
 On that bright Sunne of glorie fixe thine eyes,
 Clear'd from grosse mists of fraile infirmities. 140

Humbled with feare and awfull reverence,
 Before the footstoole of his Majestie
 Throw thy selfe downe, with trembling innocence,
 Ne dare looke up with corruptible eye
 On the dred face of that great Deity, 145
 For feare, lest if he chaunce to look on thee,
 Thou turne to nought, and quite confounded be.

But lowly fall before his mercie seate,
 Close covered with the Lambes integrity
 From the just wrath of his avengefull threate 150
 That sits upon the righteous throne on hy :
 His throne is built upon Eternity,
 More firme and durable then steele or brasse,
 Or the hard diamond which them both doth passe.

His scepter is the rod of Righteousnesse, 155
 With which he bruseth all his foes to dust,
 And the great Dragon strongly doth repress,
 Under the rigour of his judgment just ;
 His seate is Truth, to which the faithfull trust,
 From whence proceed her beames so pure and bright, 160
 That all about him sheddeth glorious light :

Light, farre exceeding that bright blazing sparke
 Which darted is from Titans flaming head,
 That with his beames enlumineth the darke

And dampish air,^t wherby al things are red ; 165
 Whose nature yet so much is marvelled
 Of mortall wits, that it doth much amaze
 The greateſt Wiſards^u which thereon do gaze.

But that immortall light, which there doth ſhine,
 Is many thouſand times more bright, more cleare, 170
 More excellent, more glorious, more divine,
 Through which to God all mortall actions here,
 And even the thoughts of men, do plaine appeare ;
 For from th' eternall Truth it doth proceed,
 Through heavenly vertue which her beames doe breed.

With the great glorie of that wondrous light 176
 His throne is all encompassed around,
 And hid in his owne brightneſſe from the ſight
 Of all that looke thereon with eyes unſound ;
 And underneath his feet are to be found 180
 Thunder, and lightning, and tempeſtuous fyre,
 The inſtruments of his avenging yre.

There in his boſome Sapience doth fit,
 The ſoveraine dearling of the Deity,
 Clad like a Queene in royall robes, moſt fit 185
 For ſo great powre and peereleſſe majeſty,
 And all with gemmes and jewels gorgeouſly
 Adornd, that brighter then the ſtarres appeare,
 And make her native brightnes ſeem more cleare.

^t *And dampish air.*] Here again there is a trifling and unnoticed change in the folio 1611, which has "And *darke damp* ayre." C.

^u *The greateſt Wiſards.*] *Wiſe men.* So the counſellors of Lucifer's dominion are ſtyled, F. Q. i. iv. 12 [vol. i. p. 230], &c. And ſo the ancient philoſophers are called, F. Q. iv. xii. 2 [vol. iii. p. 293]. And Milton employs the word in the ſame way. T. WARTON.

And on her head a crown of purest gold 190
 Is set, in signe of highest soverainty;
 And in her hand a scepter she doth hold,
 With which she rules the house of God on hy,
 And menageth the ever-moving sky,
 And in the same these lower creatures all 195
 Subjected to her powre imperiall.

Both heaven and earth obey unto her will,
 And all the creatures which they both containe;
 For of her fulnesse, which the world doth fill,
 They all partake, and do in state remaine 200
 As their great Maker did at first ordaine,
 Through observation of her high behest,
 By which they first were made, and still increast.

The fairnesse of her face no tongue can tell;
 For she the daughters of all wemens race, 205
 And Angels eke, in beautie doth excell,
 Sparkled on her from Gods owne glorious face,
 And more increast by her owne goodly grace,
 That it doth farre exceed all humane thought,
 Ne can on earth compared be to ought. 210

Ne could that Painter (had he lived yet)
 Which pictured Venus with so curious quill,
 That all posteritie admyred it,
 Have purtray'd this, for all his maistring skill;
 Ne she her selfe, had she remained still, 215
 And were as faire as fabling wits do fayne,
 Could once come neare this beauty soverayne.

But had those wits, the wonders of their dayes,
 Or that sweete Teian poet,^x which did spend

^x *that sweete Teian poet.*] Anacreon. T. WARTON.

HYMNES.

225

His plenteous vaine in setting forth her praise,
 Seen but a glims of this which I pretend,
 How wondrously would he her face commend,
 Above that Idole of his fayning thought,
 That all the world should with his rimes be fraught!

220

How then dare I, the novice of his art,
 Presume to picture so divine a wight,
 Or hope t' expresse her least perfections part,
 Whose beautie filles the heavens with her light,
 And darkes the earth with shadow of her sight?
 Ah, gentle Muse! thou art too weake and faint
 The pourtraict of so heavenly hew to paint.

225

230

Let Angels, which her goodly face behold
 And see at will, her soveraigne praises sing,
 And those most sacred mysteries unfold
 Of that faire love of mightie heavens King;
 Enough is me t' admyre so heavenly thing,
 And, being thus with her huge love possesst,
 In th' only wonder of her selfe to rest.

235

But who so may, thrise happie man him hold
 Of all on earth whom God so much doth grace,
 And lets his owne Beloved to behold;
 For in the view of her celestiall face
 All joy, all blisse, all happinesse, have place;
 Ne ought on earth can want unto the wight
 Who of her selfe can win the wishfull sight.

240

245

For she, out of her secret threasury,
 Plentie of riches forth on him will powre,
 Even heavenly riches, which there hidden ly
 Within the closet of her chafest bowre,

Th' eternall portion of her precious dowre,
Which mighty God hath given to her free,
And to all those which thereof worthy bee.

250

None thereof worthy be, but those whom shee
Vouchsafeth to her presence to receave,
And letteth them her lovely face to see,
Wherof such wondrous pleasures they conceive,
And sweete contentment, that it doth bereave
Their soul of sense, through infinite delight,
And them transport from flesh into the spright.

255

In which they see such admirable things,
As carries them into an extasy,
And heare such heavenly notes and carolings
Of Gods high praise, that filles the brazen sky;
And feele such joy and pleasure inwardly,
That maketh them all worldly cares forget,
And onely thinke on that before them set.

260

265

Ne from thenceforth doth any fleshly sense,
Or idle thought of earthly things, remaine;
But all that earst seemd sweet seemes now offense,
And all that pleased earst now seemes to paine:^y
Their joy, their comfort, their desire, their gaine,
Is fixed all on that which now they see;
All other sights but fayned shadowes bee.

270

And that faire lampe which useth to enflame
The hearts of men with selfe-consuming fyre,
Thenceforth seemes fowle, and full of sinfull blame;
And all that pompe to which proud minds aspyre

275

^y now seemes to paine.] "Now seemes a paine" in the folio 1611. C.

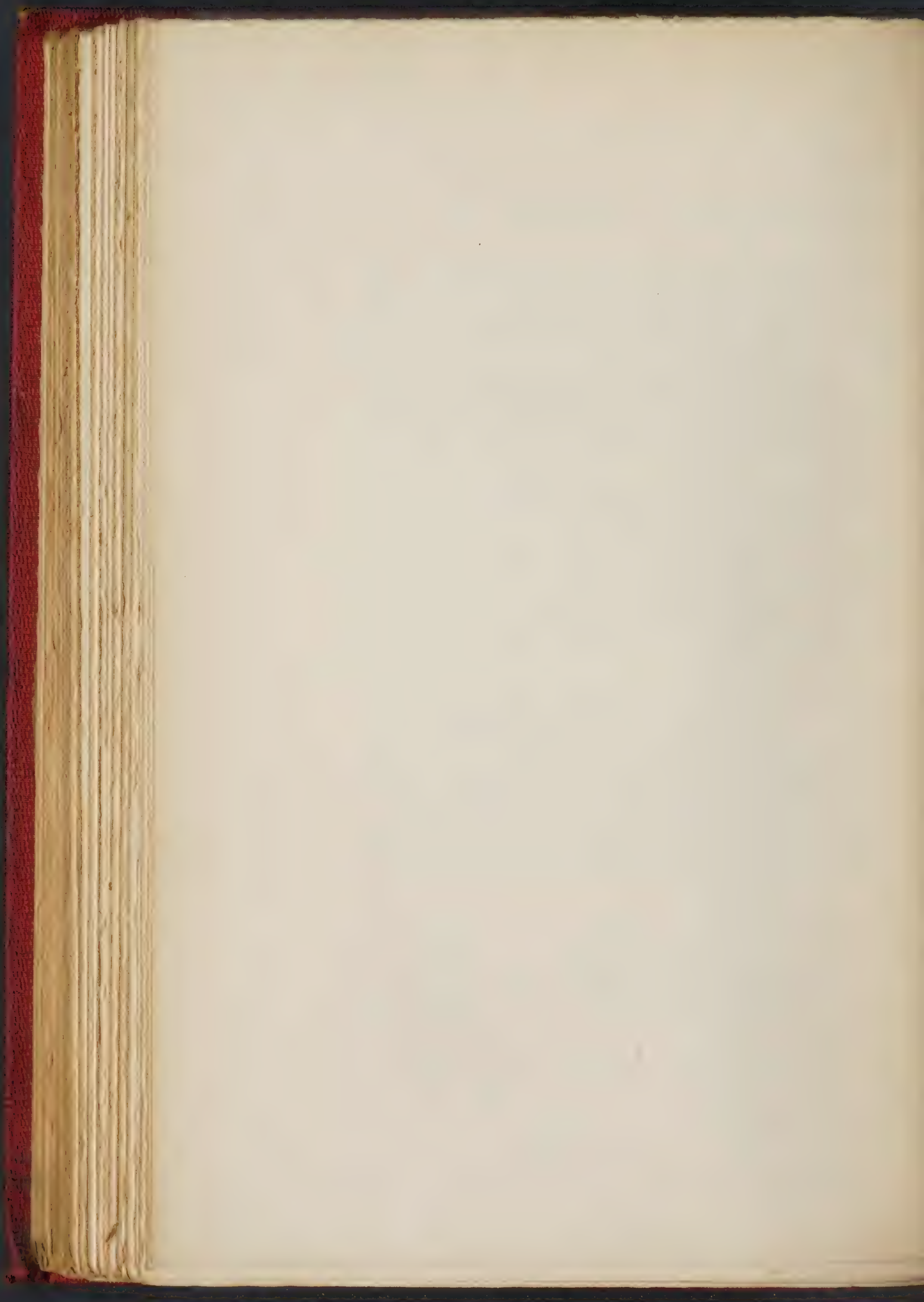
By name of honor, and so much defyre,
Seemes to them basenesse, and all riches droffe,
And all mirth sadnesse, and all lucre losse. 280

So full their eyes are of that glorious fight,
And senses fraught with such satietie,
That in nought else on earth they can delight,
But in th' aspect of that felicitie,
Which they have written in theyr inward ey; 285
On which they feed, and in theyr fastened mynd
All happie joy and full contentment fynd.

Ah, then, my hungry Soule! which long hast fed
On idle fancies of thy foolish thought,
And with false beauties flattring bait misled, 290
Hast after vaine deceitfull shâdowes fought,
Which all are fled, and now have left thee nought
But late repentance through thy follies prief;
Ah! cease to gaze on matter of thy grief:

And looke at last up to that soveraine light, 295
From whose pure beams al perfect beauty springs,
That kindleth love in every godly spright,
Even the love of God; which loathing brings
Of this vile world and these gay-seeming things;
With whose sweet pleasures being so possesst, 300
Thy straying thoughts henceforth for ever rest.





DAPHNAÏDA.

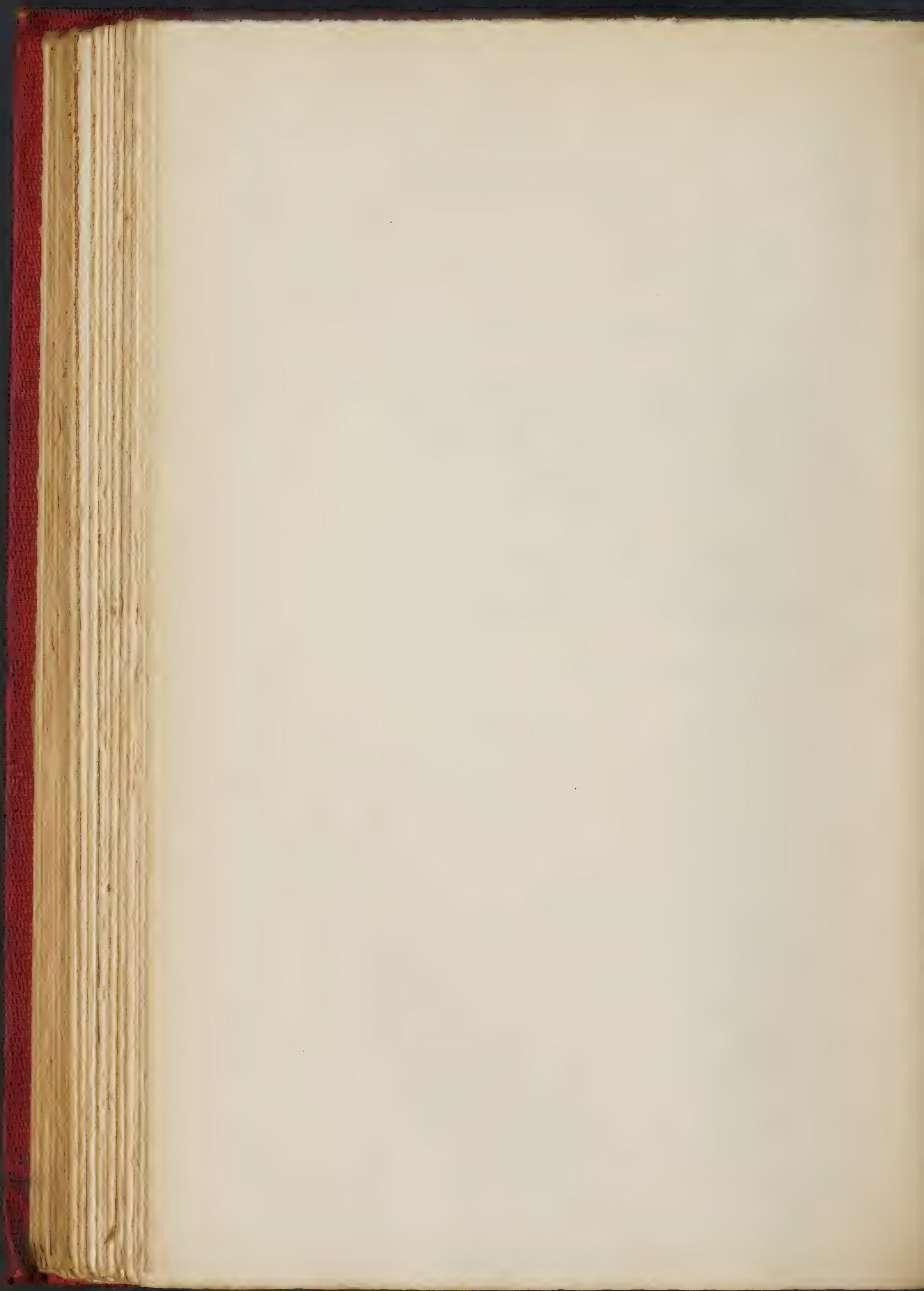
AN ELEGIE

*Upon the Death of the noble and vertuous Douglas Howard,
daughter and heire of Henry Lord Howard,
Viscount Byndon, and wife of
Arthur Gorges, Esquier.*

DEDICATED TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LADIE
HELENA, MARQUESSE OF NORTHAMPTON.

BY ED. SP.

AT LONDON
Printed for William Ponfonby.
1596.

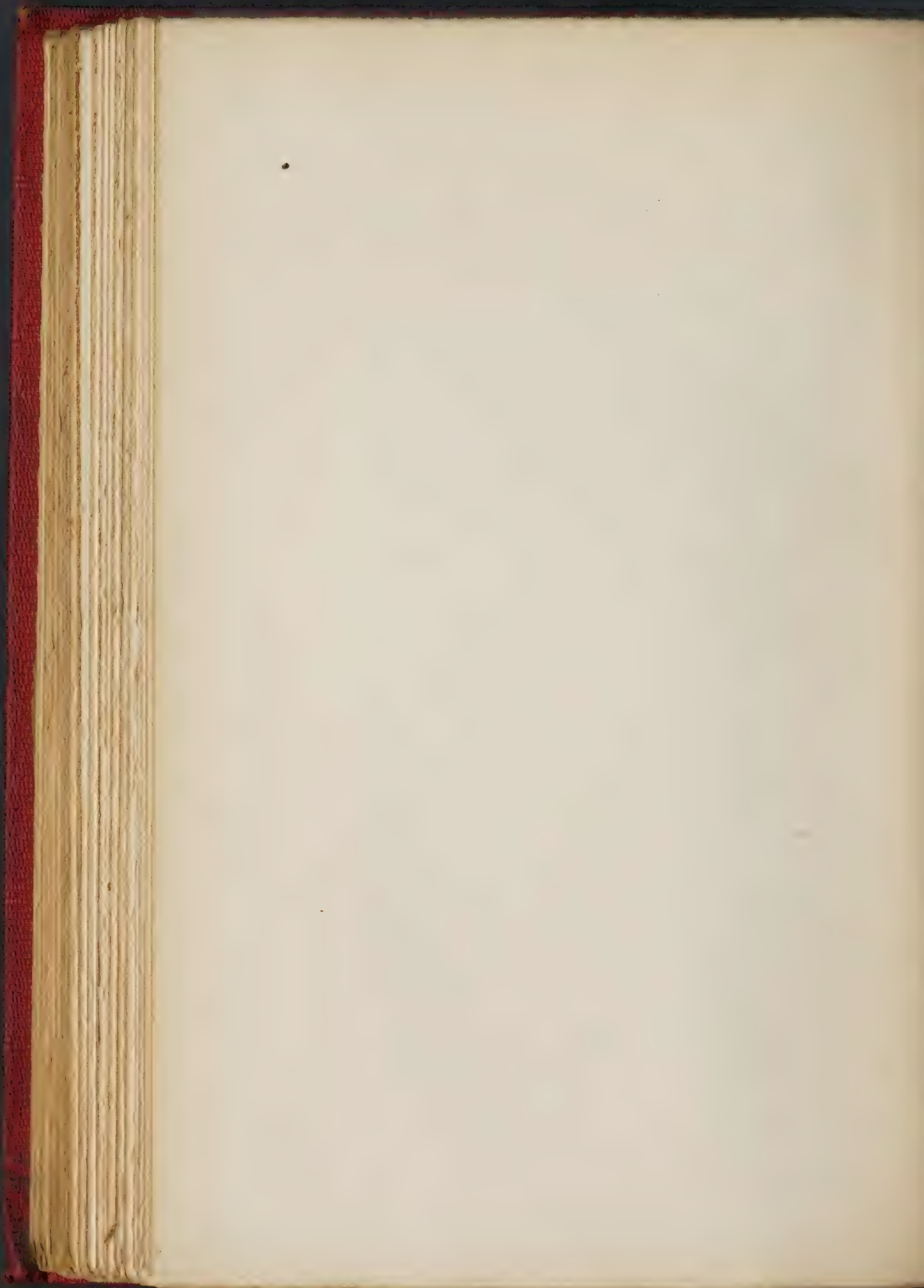


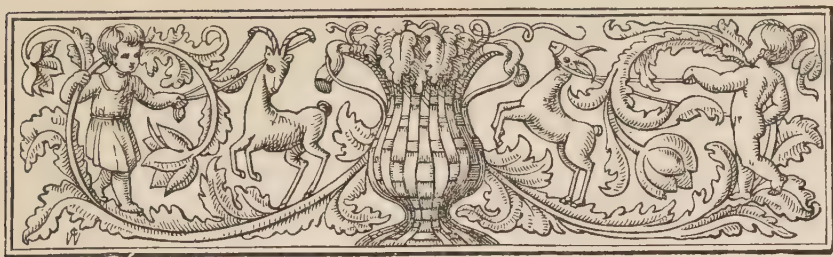
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND VERTUOUS
LADY, HELENA, MARQUESSE OF
NORTH-HAMPTON.

I HAVE the rather presumed humbly to offer unto your Honour the dedication of this little Poëme, for that the noble and vertuous Gentlewoman, of whom it is written, was by match neere alied, and in affection greatly devoted, unto your Ladiship. The occasion why I wrote the same, was aswell the great good fame which I heard of her deceassed, as the particular goodwill which I beare unto her husband Master Arthur Gorges, a lover of learning and vertue, whose house, as your Ladiship by mariage hath honoured, so doe I find the name of them, by many notable records, to be of great antiquitie in this Realme; and such as have ever borne themselves with honourable reputation to the world, and unspotted loyaltie to their Prince and Countrey: besides, so lineally are they descended from the Howards, as that the Lady Anne Howard, eldest daughter to John Duke of Norfolke, was wife to Sir Edmund, mother to Sir Edward, and grandmother to Sir William and Sir Thomas Gorges, Knightes. And therefore I doe assure my selfe that no due honour done to the White Lyon, but will be most gratefull to your Ladiship, whose husband and children do so neerely participate with the bloud of that noble family. So in all dutie I recommend this Pamphlet, and the good acceptance thereof, to your honourable favour and protection. London, this first of Januarie, 1591.

Your Honours humbly ever.

ED. SP.





DAPHNAIDA.

WHATEVER man he be whose heavie mynd,
With grieve of mournfull great mishap
opprest,
Fit matter for his cares increafe would fynd,
Let reade the rufull plaint herein exprest,
Of one, (I weene) the wofulft man alive, 5
Even fad Alcyon,^a whose empierced brest
Sharpe sorrowe did in thousand peeces rive.

But who fo else in pleasure findeth fenfe,
Or in this wretched life dooth take delight,
Let him be banisht farre away from hence; 10
Ne let the sacred Sisters here be hight,
Though they of sorrowe heavilie can fing,
For even their heavie song would breede delight;
But here no tunes, save sobs and grones, shall ring.

In ftead of them, and their sweete harmonie, 15
Let thofe three fatall Sisters,^b whose fad hands

^a *Even fad Alcyon.*] So he names Sir Arthur Gorges in "Colin Clouts come Home again." TODD. See this vol. p. 45. C.

^b *Let thofe three fatall Sisters, &c.*] He imitates the invocations of Chaucer, "Tr. and Cr." L. i. 6.—

"Thou Thesiphone, thou helpe me t' endite

Doe weave the direfull threeds of destinie,
 And in their wrath breake off the vitall bands,
 Approach hereto; and let the dreadfull Queene
 Of darkenes deepe come from the Stygian strands, 20
 And grisly Ghosts, to heare this dolefull teene.^c

In gloomie evening, when the wearie Sun
 After his dayes long labour drew to rest,
 And sweatie steedes, now having over run
 The compast skie, gan water in the west, 25
 I walkt abroad to breath the freshing ayre
 In open fields, whose flowring pride, opprest
 With early frosts, had lost their beautie faire.

There came unto my mind a troublous thought,
 Which dayly doth my weaker wit possesse, 30
 Ne lets it rest untill it forth have brought
 Her long borne Infant, fruit of heavinessse,
 Which she conceived hath through meditation
 Of this worlds vainnesse and life's wretchednesse,
 That yet my soule it deeply doth empassion. 35

So as I muzed on the miserie
 In which men live, and I of many most,
 Most miserable man; I did espie
 Where towards me a sory wight did cost,
 Clad all in black, that mourning did bewray, 40
 And Jacob staffe in hand devoutly crost,
 Like to some Pilgrim come from farre away.

" This woful verse, that wepin as I write :

" To the[e] I clepe, thou goddesse of tourment, &c."

See also L. iv. 22. And "The Remedie of Love," Prol. 131.—

" Aspire my ginnyng, O! thou wode Furie,

" Alecto, with thy Sisters, &c." T. WARTON.

^c *this dolefull teene.*] i. e. this doleful grief or sorrow: see vol. iii. pp. 300, 304, 314, and many other places. C.

His carelesse lockes, uncombed and unshorne,
 Hong long adowne, and beard all over growne,
 That well he seemd to be some wight forlorne : 45
 Downe to the earth his heavie eyes were throwne,
 As loathing light ; and ever as he went
 He fighed soft, and inly deepe did grone,
 As if his heart in peeces would have rent.

Approaching nigh, his face I vewed nere, 50
 And by the semblant of his countenaunce
 Me seemd I had his person seene else where,
 Most like Alcyon seeming at a glaunce ;
 Alcyon he, the jollie Shepheard fwaine,
 That wont full merrilie to pipe and daunce, 55
 And fill with pleafance every wood and plaine.

Yet halfe in doubt, because of his disguise,
 I softlie sayd, Alcyon ! There withall
 He lookt a side as in disdaine full wife,
 Yet stayd not, till I againe did call : 60
 Then, turning back, he faide, with hollow sound,
 " Who is it that dooth name me, wofull thrall,
 The wretchedst man that treads this day on ground ? "

" One, whom like wofulnesse, impressed deepe,
 Hath made fit mate thy wretched case to heare, 65
 And given like cause with thee to waile and wepe :
 Griefe finds some ease by him that like does beare.
 Then stay, Alcyon, gentle shepheard, stay,
 (Quoth I) till thou have to my trustie eare
 Committed what thee dooth so ill apay." 70

" Cease, foolish man," (saide he, halfe wrothfully)
 " To seeke to heare that which cannot be told,
 For the huge anguish, which dooth multiplie

My dying paines, no tongue can well unfold ;
 Ne doo I care that any should bemone
 My hard mishap, or any weepe that would,
 But seeke alone to weepe, and dye alone.”

75

“ Then be it so,” (quoth I) “ that thou art bent
 To die alone, unpitied, unplained ;
 Yet, ere thou die, it were convenient
 To tell the cause which thee thereto constrained,
 Least that the world thee dead accuse of guilt,
 And say, when thou of none shalt be maintained,
 That thou for secret crime thy blood hast spilt.”

80

“ Who life does loath, and longs to be unbound
 From the strong shackles of fraile flesh,” (quoth he)
 “ Nought cares at all what they, that live on ground,
 Deeme the occasion of his death to bee ;
 Rather desires to be forgotten quight,
 Than question made of his calamitie ;
 For harts deep sorrow hates both life and light.

85

90

“ Yet since so much thou seemst to rue my griefe,
 And car’st for one that for himselfe cares nought,
 (Sign of thy love, though nought for my reliefe,
 For my reliefe exceedeth living thought)
 I will to thee this heaue case relate :
 Then hearken well till it to end be brought,
 For never didst thou heare more haplesse fate.

95

“ Whilome I usde (as thou right well doest know)
 My little flocke on westerne downes to keep,
 Not far from whence Sabrinaes streame doth flow,
 And flowrie bancks with silver liquor steepe :
 Nought carde I then for worldly change or chaunce,

100

For all my joy was on my gentle sheepe,
And to my pype to caroll and to daunce. 105

“ It there befell, as I the fields did range
Fearlesse and free, a faire young Lionesse,^d
White as the native Rose before the chaunge
Which Ventus blood did in her leaves impresse,
I spied playing on the grassie plaine 110
Her youthfull sports and kindlie wantonneffe,
That did all other Beasts in beawtie staine.

“ Much was I moved at so goodly fight,
Whose like before mine eye had feldome seene,
And gan to cast how I her compasse might, 115
And bring to hand that yet had never beene.
So well I wrought with mildnes and with paine,
That I her caught disporting on the greene,
And brought away fast bound with silver chaine.

“ And afterwards I handled her so fayre, 120
That though by kind shee stout and salvage were,
For being borne an auncient Lions hayre,
And of the race that all wild beastes do feare,
Yet I her fram'd, and wan so to my bent,
That shee became so meeke and milde of cheare, 125
As the least lamb in all my flock that went :

“ For shee in field, where ever I did wend,
Would wend with me, and waite by me all day ;
And all the night that I in watch did spend,
If cause requir'd, or els in sleepe, if nay, 130
Shee would all night by me or watch or sleepe ;

^d *a faire young Lionesse.*] See the Dedication, [p. 231,] “ that no due honour done to the White Lyon,” &c. TODD.

And evermore when I did sleepe or play,
She of my flock would take full warie keepe.

“ Safe then, and safest were my fillie sheepe,
Ne fear'd the Wolfe, ne fear'd the wildest beast, 135
All were I drown'd in carelesse quiet deepe :
My lovely Lionesse without beheast
So careful was for them, and for my good,
That when I waked, neither most nor least
I found miscaried or in plaine or wood. 140

“ Oft did the Shepheards, which my hap did heare,
And oft their lasses, which my luck envyde,
Daylie resort to me from farre and neare,
To see my Lyonesse, whose praises wyde 145
Were spread abroad ; and when her worthinesse
Much greater than the rude report they try'de,
They her did praise, and my good fortune blesse.

“ Long thus I joyed in my happinesse,
And well did hope my joy would have no end ;
But oh ! fond man ! that in worlds ficklenesse 150
Repos'dst hope, or weenedst her thy frend
That glories most in mortall miseries,
And daylie doth her changefull counsels bend
To make new matter fit for Tragedies ;

“ For whilest I was thus without dread or dout, 155
A cruel Satyre with his murdrous dart,
Greddie of mischiefe, ranging all about,
Gave her the fatall wound of deadly smart,
And reft from me my sweete companion,
And reft fro me my love, my life, my hart : 160
My Lyonesse (ah, woe is me !) is gon.

" Out of the world thus was she reft away,
 Out of the world, unworthy fuch a fpoyle,
 And borne to heaven, for heaven a fitter pray,
 Much fitter than the Lyon, which with toyle 165
 Alcides flew, and fixt in firmament;
 Her now I feeke throughout this earthly foyle,
 And seeking miffe, and miffing doe lament."

Therewith he gan afrefh to waile and weepe,
 That I for pittie of his heavie plight 170
 Could not abftain mine eyes with teares to fteepe;
 But, when I faw the anguifh of his fpright
 Some deale alaid, I him befpoke againe:
 " Certes, Alcyon, painefull is thy plight,
 That it in me breeds almoft equall paine. 175

" Yet doth not my dull wit well underftand
 The riddle of thy loved Lioneffe;
 For rare it feemes in reason to be fkland,
 That man, who doth the whole worlds rule poffeffe,
 Should to a beaft his noble hart embafe, 180
 And be the vaffall of his vaffaleffe:
 Therefore more plain aread this doubtfull cafe."

Then fighting fore, " Daphne thou kneweft," (quoth he)
 " She now is dead!" ne more endur'd to fay,
 But fell to ground for great extremitie; 185
 That I, beholding it, with deepe difmay
 Was much appald; and lightly him uprearing
 Revoked life that would have fled away,
 All were my felfe, through grief, in dreadly drearing.

Then gan I him to comfort all my beft, 190
 And with milde counfaile ftrove to mitigate
 The ftormie paffion of his troubled brest,

But he thereby was more empaffionate :
 As ftubborne fteed, that is with curb reftained,
 Becomes more fierce and fervent in his gate ; 195
 And, breaking foorth at laft, thus dearnely plained :^e

I.

“ What man henceforth that breatheth vitall aire
 Will honour heaven, or heavenly powers adore,
 Which fo unjuftly doth their judgements fhare
 Mongft earthly wights, as to afflict fo fore 200
 The innocent, as thofe which do tranfgrefse,
 And doe not fpare the beft or faireft, more
 Than worft or fowleft, but doe both opprefse ?

“ If this be right, why did they then create
 The world fo faire, fith faireneffe is neglected ? 205
 Or why be they themfelves immaculate,
 If pureft things be not by them refpected ?
 She faire, fhe pure, moft faire, moft pure fhe was,
 Yet was by them as thing impure rejected ;
 Yet fhe in pureneffe heaven it felfe did pas. 210

“ In pureneffe and in all celeftiall grace,
 That men admire in goodly womankind,
 She did excell, and feem’d of Angels race,
 Living on earth like Angell new divinde,^f
 Adorn’d with wifedome and with chaftitie, 215

^e *thus dearnely plained.* “Dearnely” or *dernly*, is *secretly, darkly*; but one of its consequential fenfes is *mournfully*, and that feems its meaning here. The word is common in Spenser: fee vol. ii. pp. 98, 342; vol. iii. p. 73, &c. C.

^f *like Angell new divinde.*] *Divined* is an odd expreffion. We meet with it again in “The Ruines of Time,” ver. 611 [vol. iv. p. 319], where it fignifies, I fuppofe, to be deified by being made a conftellation, *to be divin’d, ἀποθεοῦσθαι*. JORTIN. Drayton, as Richardson fhowes, alfo employs the verb to “divine” in its participle, in *Polyolbion*, S. 24. C.

And all the dowries of a noble mind,
Which did her beautie much more beautifie.

“ No age hath bred (since faire Astræa left
The sinfull world) more vertue in a wight;
And when she parted hence with her she reft 220
Great hope, and robd her race of bountie quight:
Well may the shepheard lasses now lament,
For double losse by her hath on them light,
To lose both her and bounties ornament.

“ Ne let Elifa, royall Shepheardesse, 225
The praises of my parted love envy,
For she hath praises in all plenteousnesse
Powr'd upon her, like showers of Castaly,
By her owne Shepheard, Colin;^s her owne Shepheard,
That her with heavenly hymnes doth deifie, 230
Of rusticke muse full hardly to be betterd.

“ She is the Rose, the glory of the day,
And mine the Primrose in the lowly shade.
Mine, ah! not mine; amisse I mine did say:
Not mine, but his, which mine a while her made; 235
Mine to be his, with him to live for ay.
O, that so faire a flowre so soone should fade,
And through untimely tempest fall away!

“ She fell away in her first ages spring,
Whilst yet her leafe was greene, and fresh her rinde, 240
And whilst her braunch faire blossomes foorth did bring,
She fell away against all course of kinde:
For age to dye is right, but youth is wrong;

^s *By her owne Shepheard, Colin.*] We need hardly say that Spenser here alludes to himself, and to his laudations of Elizabeth.

She fell away like fruit blowne downe with winde.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underfong. 245

II.

“ What hart so ftonie hard but that would weepe,
And poure forth fountaines of incessant teares?
What Timon but would let compassion creepe
Into his breast, and pierce his frosen eares?
In stead of teares, whose brackish bitter well 250
I waisted have, my heart bloud dropping weares,
To think to ground how that faire blossome fell.

“ Yet fell she not as one enforst to dye,
Ne dyde with dread and grudging discontent,
But as one toyld with travell downe doth lye, 255
So lay she downe, as if to sleepe she went,
And closde her eyes with carelesse quietnesse;
The whiles soft death away her spirit hent,^h
And soule affoyld from sinfull fleshlinesse.

“ Yet ere that life her lodging did forsake, 260
She, all resolv'd and readie to remove,
Calling to me (ay me!) this wise bespake:
‘ Alcyon! ah, my first and latest love!
‘ Ah! why does my Alcyon weepe and mourne,
‘ And grieve my ghost that ill mote him behove, 265
‘ As if to me had chaunst some evill tourne?

‘ I, since the messenger is come for mee,
‘ That summons soules unto the bridale feast
‘ Of his great Lord, must needs depart from thee,
‘ And straight obey his soveraine behest: 270

^h *away her spirit hent.*] Away her spirit *took*, as often before in the F. Q. and elsewhere: see vol. ii. p. 108; vol. iii. p. 445, &c. C.

‘ Why should Alcyon then so fore lament
 ‘ That I from miserie shall be releast,
 ‘ And freed from wretched long imprisonment ?

‘ Our daies are full of dolour and diseafe,
 ‘ Our life afflicted with incessant paine, 275
 ‘ That nought on earth may lessen or appease :
 ‘ Why then should I desire here to remaine ?
 ‘ Or why should he that loves me forrie bee
 ‘ For my deliverance, or at all complaine
 ‘ My good to heare, and toward joyes to see ? 280

‘ I goe, and long desired have to goe ;
 ‘ I goe with gladnesse to my wished rest,
 ‘ Whereas no worlds sad care, nor waisting woe
 ‘ May come their happie quiet to molest ;
 ‘ But Saints and Angels in celestially thrones 285
 ‘ Eternally Him praise that hath them blest :
 ‘ There shall I be amongst those blessed ones.

‘ Yet, ere I goe, a pledge I leave with thee
 ‘ Of the late love the which betwixt us past,
 ‘ My young Ambrosia : in lieu of mee, 290
 ‘ Love her ; so shall our love for ever last.
 ‘ Thus, deare ! adieu, whom I expect ere long.’
 “ So having said, away she softly past.
 Weepe, Shepheard ! weepe, to make mine underfong.

III.

“ So oft as I record those piercing words, 295
 Which yet are deepe engraven in my brest,
 And those last deadly accents, which like swords
 Did wound my heart, and rend my bleeding chest,
 With those sweet sugred speeches doe compare,

The which my soul first conquerd and possesst,
The first beginners of my endlesse care :

300

“ And when those pallid cheekes and ashie hew,
In which sad Death his pourtraiture had writ,
And when those hollow eyes and deadly view,
On which the cloud of ghastly night did sit,
I match with that sweete smile and chearful brow,
Which all the world subdued unto it,
How happie was I then, and wretched now !

305

“ How happie was I, when I saw her leade
The shepheards daughters dauncing in a rownd !
How trimly would she trace and softly tread
The tender grasse, with rosy garland crownd !
And when she list advaunce her heavenly voyce,
Both Nymphes and Muses nigh she made astownd,
And flocks and shepheards caused to rejoyce.

310

315

“ But now, ye Shepheard Lasses, who shall lead
Your wandring troupes, or sing your virelayes ?ⁱ
Or who shall dight your bowres, fith she is dead
That was the Lady of your holy dayes ?
Let now your blisse be turned into bale,
And into plaints convert your joyous playes,
And with the same fill every hill and dale.

320

“ Let Bagpipe never more be heard to shrill,
That may allure the senses to delight,
Ne ever Shepheard sound his oaten quill
Unto the many, that provoke them might
To idle pleasance ; but let ghastlineffe

325

ⁱ or *sing your virelayes.*] Virelays are *spring songs*: see the note upon the word in vol. iii. p. 22. C.

And drearie horror dim the chearefull light,
To make the image of true heavineſſe.

“ Let birds be ſilent on the naked ſpray, 330
And ſhady woods reſound with dreadfull yells;
Let ſtreaming floods their haſtie courſes ſtay,
And parching drouth drie up the criſtall wells;
Let th’ earth be barren, and bring foorth no flowres,
And th’ ayre be fild with noyſe of dolefull knells, 335
And wandring ſpirits walke untimely howres.

“ And Nature, nurſe of every living thing,
Let reſt her ſelfe from her long wearineſſe,
And ceaſe henceforth things kindly forth to bring,^k
But hideous monſters full of uglinneſſe; 340
For ſhe it is that hath me done this wrong,
No nurſe, but Stepdame, cruell, mercileſſe.
Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underſong.

IV.

“ My litle flocke, whom earſt I lov’d ſo well,
And wont to feed with fineſt graſſe that grew, 345
Feede ye hencefoorth on bitter Aſtrofell,¹
And ſtinking Smallage, and unfaverie Rew;
And, when your mawes are with thoſe weeds corrupted,
Be ye the pray of Wolves; ne will I rew
That with your carkafſſes wild beaſts be glutted. 350

“ Ne worſe to you, my fillie ſheepe, I pray,
Ne forer vengeance wiſh on you to fall

^k *things kindly forth to bring.*] i. e. according to their *kinds* or *natures*. “Kind” is uſed in the ſame way on p. 241. C.

¹ *on bitter Aſtrofell.*] Spenſer ſpells the name Aſtrophel in his poem on the death of Sir P. Sidney; and here poſſibly we ought to read *Aſphodel*, the day-lily. C.

Than to my selfe, for whose confusde decay^m
 To carelesse heavens I doo daylie call ;
 But heavens refuse to heare a wretches cry ;
 And cruell death doth scorne to come at call,
 Or graunt his boone that most desires to dye.

355

“ The good and righteous he away doth take,
 To plague th’ unrighteous which alive remaine ;
 But the ungodly ones he doth forsake,
 By living long to multiplie their paine :
 Else surely death should be no punishment,
 As the great Judge at first did it ordaine,
 But rather riddance from long languishment.

360

“ Therefore, my Daphne they have tane away ;
 For worthie of a better place was she ;
 But me unworthie willed here to stay,
 That with her lacke I might tormented be.
 Sith then they so have ordred, I will pay
 Penance to her, according their decree,
 And to her ghost doe service day by day.

365

370

“ For I will walke this wandring pilgrimage,
 Throughout the world from one to other end,
 And in affliction waste my better age :
 My bread shall be the anguish of my mynd,
 My drink the teares which fro mine eyes do raine,
 My bed the ground that hardest I may fynd ;
 So will I wilfully increase my paine.

375

“ And she, my love that was, my Saint that is,

^m for *whose confusde decay*.] The epithet “confused” thus applied is peculiar: perhaps it is to be taken in the sense of *commingled*, when the speaker’s dust should be “confused” with the earth, or with the dust of the subject of his lamentation—*con* and *fundere*. C.

When she beholds from her celestial throne
 (In which shee joyeth in eternall blis)
 My bitter penance, will my case bemone,
 And pittie me that living thus doo die;
 For heavenly spirits have compassion
 On mortall men, and rue their miserie. 385

" So when I have with sorrow fatisfyde
 Th' importune fates, which vengeance on me seeke,
 And th' heavens with long languor pacifyde,
 She, for pure pitie of my sufferance meeke,
 Will send for mee; for which I daylie long, 390
 And will till then my painfull penance eeke.
 Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underfong.

V.

" Hencefoorth I hate what ever Nature made,
 And in her workmanship no pleasure finde,
 For they be all but vaine, and quickly fade; 395
 So soone as on them blowes the Northern winde"
 They tarrie not, but flit and fall away,
 Leaving behind them nought but grieve of minde,
 And mocking such as thinke they long will stay.

" I hate the heaven, because it doth withhold 400
 Me from my love, and eke my love from me;
 I hate the earth, because it is the mould
 Of fleshly slime and fraile mortalitie;
 I hate the fire, because to nought it flyes;
 I hate the ayre, because fighes of it be; 405
 I hate the Sea, because it teares supplies.

ⁿ *So soone as on them blowes the Northern winde.*] From Psalm ciii.
 16: "As for man his days are gras; as a flower of the field, so he
 flourisheth: for the wind passeth over it, and it is gone." T. WARTON.

" I hate the day, because it lendeth light
 To see all things, and not my love to see ;
 I hate the darknesse and the dreary night,
 Because they breed sad balefulnesse in mee ; 410
 I hate all times, because all times doo fly
 So fast away, and may not stayd bee,
 But as a speedie post^o that passeth by.

" I hate to speake, my voyce is spent with crying ;
 I hate to heare, lowd plaints have duld mine eares ; 415
 I hate to tast, for food withholds my dying ;
 I hate to see, mine eyes are dimd with teares ;
 I hate to smell, no sweet on earth is left ;
 I hate to feele, my flesh is numbd with feares :
 So all my senses from me are bereft. 420

" I hate all men, and shun all womankinde ;
 The one, because as I they wretched are ;
 The other, for because I doo not finde
 My love with them, that wont to be their Starre :
 And life I hate, because it will not last ; 425
 And death I hate, because it life doth marre ;
 And all I hate that is to come or past.

" So all the world, and all in it I hate,
 Because it changeth ever too and fro,
 And never standeth in one certain state, 430
 But still unstedfast round about doth goe,
 Like a Millwhee, in midst of miserie,
 Driven with streames of wretchednesse and woe,
 That dying lives, and living still does dye.

^o *But as a speedie post, &c.*] Job ix. 25, " Now my days are swifter
 than a post." T. WARTON.

“ So doo I live, fo doo I daylie die,
 And pine away in felfe-confuming paine ;
 Sith ſhe that did my vitall powres ſupplie,
 And feeble ſpirits in their force maintaine,
 Is fetcht fro me, why ſeeke I to prolong
 My wearie daies in dolour and diſdaine ?
 Weepe, Shepheard ! weepe, to make my underſong.

VI.

“ Why doo I longer live in lifes deſpight,
 And doo not dye then in deſpight of death ?
 Why doo I longer ſee this loathſome light
 And doo in darkneſſe not abridge my breath,
 Sith all my ſorrow ſhould have end thereby,
 And cares finde quiet ? is it ſo uneath
 To leave this life, or dolorous to dye ?

“ To live I finde it deadly dolorous,
 For life drawes care, and care continuall woe ;
 Therefore to dye muſt needes be joyeous,
 And wiſhfull thing this ſad life to forgoe.
 But I muſt ſtay ; I may it not amend,
 My Daphne hence departing bad me ſo ;
 She bad me ſtay, till ſhe for me did fend.

“ Yet, whileſt I in this wretched vale doo ſtay,
 My wearie feete ſhall ever wandring be,
 That ſtill I may be readie on my way
 When as her meſſenger doth come for me ;
 Ne will I reſt my feete for feebleneſſe,
 Ne will I reſt my limmes for frailtie,
 Ne will I reſt mine eyes for heavineſſe.

“ But, as the mother of the Gods, that fought
 For faire Euridyce, her daughter deere,

Throghout the world, with wofull heavie thought ; 465
 So will I travell whilest I tarrie heere,
 Ne will I lodge, ne will I ever lin,^p
 Ne, when as drouping Titan draweth neere
 To loose his teeme, will I take up my Inne.

“ Ne sleepe (the harbenger of wearie wights) 470
 Shall ever lodge upon mine eye-lids more ;
 Ne shall with rest refresh my fainting sprights,
 Nor failing force to former strength restore ;
 But I will wake and forrow all the night
 With Philumene,^q my fortune to deplore, 475
 With Philumene, the partner of my plight.

“ And ever as I see the starre to fall,
 And under ground to goe, to give them light
 Which dwell in darknesse, I to mind will call
 How my faire starre (that shind on me so bright) 480
 Fell sodainly and faded under ground ;
 Since whose departure day is turnd to night,
 And night without a Venus starre is found.

“ But soon as day doth shew his deawie face,
 And cals foorth men unto their toylsome trade, 485
 I will withdraw me to some darkefome place,
 Or some deere cave,^r or solitarie shade ;

^p *ne will I ever lin.*] Nor will I ever *cease*. We have already had “lin” twice in F. Q.: vol. i. p. 184; vol. ii. p. 389. It occurs again on p. 392 of the same vol.: here it is the rhyme to “inne,” which in both places merely means an abode or residence. C.

^q *With Philumene, &c.*] Hughes and the modern editions read *Philomel*; having no idea that Spenser here perhaps had in memory the appellation of the nightingale, in Gascoigne’s poem, entitled “The Complaint of Philumene,” which had been published in 1576. Todd.

^r *Or some deere cave.*] We more than suspect the omission of the letter *r* in “deere,” and that Spenser wrote “Or some *dreere* cave;” but we make no alteration, although Drayton, in his folio 1611, in-

There will I figh, and sorrow all day long,
 And the huge burden of my cares unlade.
 Weepe, Shepheard! weepe, to make my underfong. 490

VII.

“ Henceforth mine eyes shall never more behold
 Faire thing on earth, ne feed on false delight
 Of ought that framed is of mortall mould,
 Sith that my fairest flower is faded quight;
 For all I see is vaine and transitorie, 495
 Ne will be held in any stedfast plight,
 But in a moment loose their grace and glorie.

“ And ye, fond men! on fortunes wheele that ride,
 Or in ought under heaven repose assurance,
 Be it riches, beautie, or honours pride, 500
 Be sure that they shall have no long endurance,
 But ere ye be aware will flit away;
 For nought of them is yours, but th’ only usance
 Of a small time, which none ascertaine may.

“ And ye, true Lovers! whom defastrous chaunce 505
 Hath farre exiled from your Ladies grace,
 To mourne in sorrow and sad sufferance,
 When ye doe heare me in that desert place
 Lamenting loud my Daphnes Elegie,
 Helpe me to waile my miserable case, 510
 And when life parts vouchsafe to close mine eye.

“ And ye, more happie Lovers! which enjoy
 The prefence of your dearest loves delight,
 When ye doe heare my sorrowfull annoy,

ferted the letter, supposed to be missing, in his margin, and, by a corresponding mark in the text, indicated where it ought to be inserted. C.

Yet pittie me in your empassiond spright,
 And thinke that such mishap, as chaunst to me,
 May happen unto the most happiest wight;
 For all mens states alike unstedfast be.

515

“ And ye, my fellow Shepherds! which do feed
 Your carelesse flockes on hils and open plaines,
 With better fortune than did me succeed,
 Remember yet my undeserved paines;
 And when ye heare that I am dead or flaine,
 Lament my lot, and tell your fellow swaines
 That fad Alcyon dyde in lifes disdaine.

520

525

“ And, ye faire Damfels! Shepherds deare delights,
 That with your loves do their rude hearts possesse,
 When as my hearse shall happen to your fightes,
 Vouchsafe to deck the same with Cypareffe;
 And ever sprinckle brackish teares among,
 In pitie of my undeserv'd distresse,
 The which, I, wretch, endured have thus long.

530

“ And ye poore Pilgrimes! that with restless toyle
 Wearie your selves in wandring defart wayes,
 Till that you come where ye your vowes affoyle,
 When passing by ye reade these wofull layes
 On my grave written, rue my Daphnes wrong,
 And mourne for me that languish out my dayes.
 Cease, Shepherd! cease, and end thy underfong.”—

535

Thus when he ended had his heavie plaint,
 The heaviest plaint that ever I heard found,
 His cheekes wext pale, and sprights began to faint,
 As if againe he would have fallen to ground:
 Which when I saw, I (stepping to him light)

540

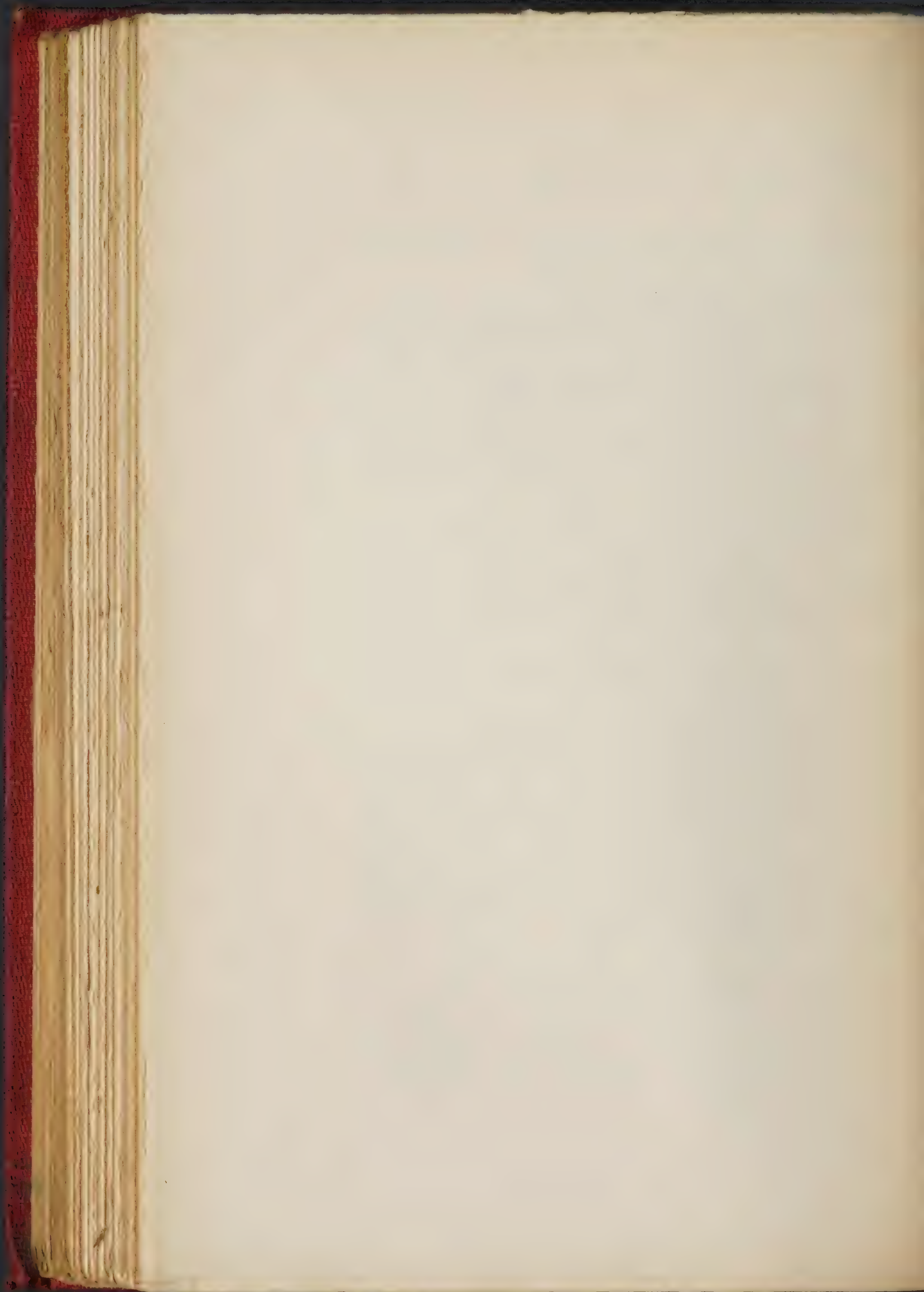
Amooved him out of his stonie fwound, 545
And gan him to recomfort as I might.

But he no waie recomforted would be,
Nor suffer solace to approach him nie,
But casting up a sdeinfull eie at me,
That in his traunce I would not let him lie, 550
Did rend his haire, and beat his blubbred face,
As one disposed wilfullie to die,
That I fore griev'd to see his wretched case.

Tho when the pang was somewhat overpast,
And the outrageous passion nigh appeased, 555
I him desyrde, sith daie was overcast,
And darke night fast approched, to be pleased
To turne aside unto my Cabinet,^s
And staie with me, till he were better eased
Of that strong stownd which him so fore beset. 560

But by no meanes I could him win thereto,
Ne longer him intreate with me to staie,
But without taking leave he foorth did goe
With staggring pace and dismall lookes dismay;
As if that death he in the face had seene, 565
Or hellish hags had met upon the way :
But what of him became I cannot weene.

^s *To turne aside unto my Cabinet.*] "Cabinet" is here the diminutive of *cabin*; but our best dictionaries give us no instance of the use of it in this way. In "Shep. Cal." for Dec. (vol. i, p. 136) Spenser speaks of the "green cabinet" of Pan. C.



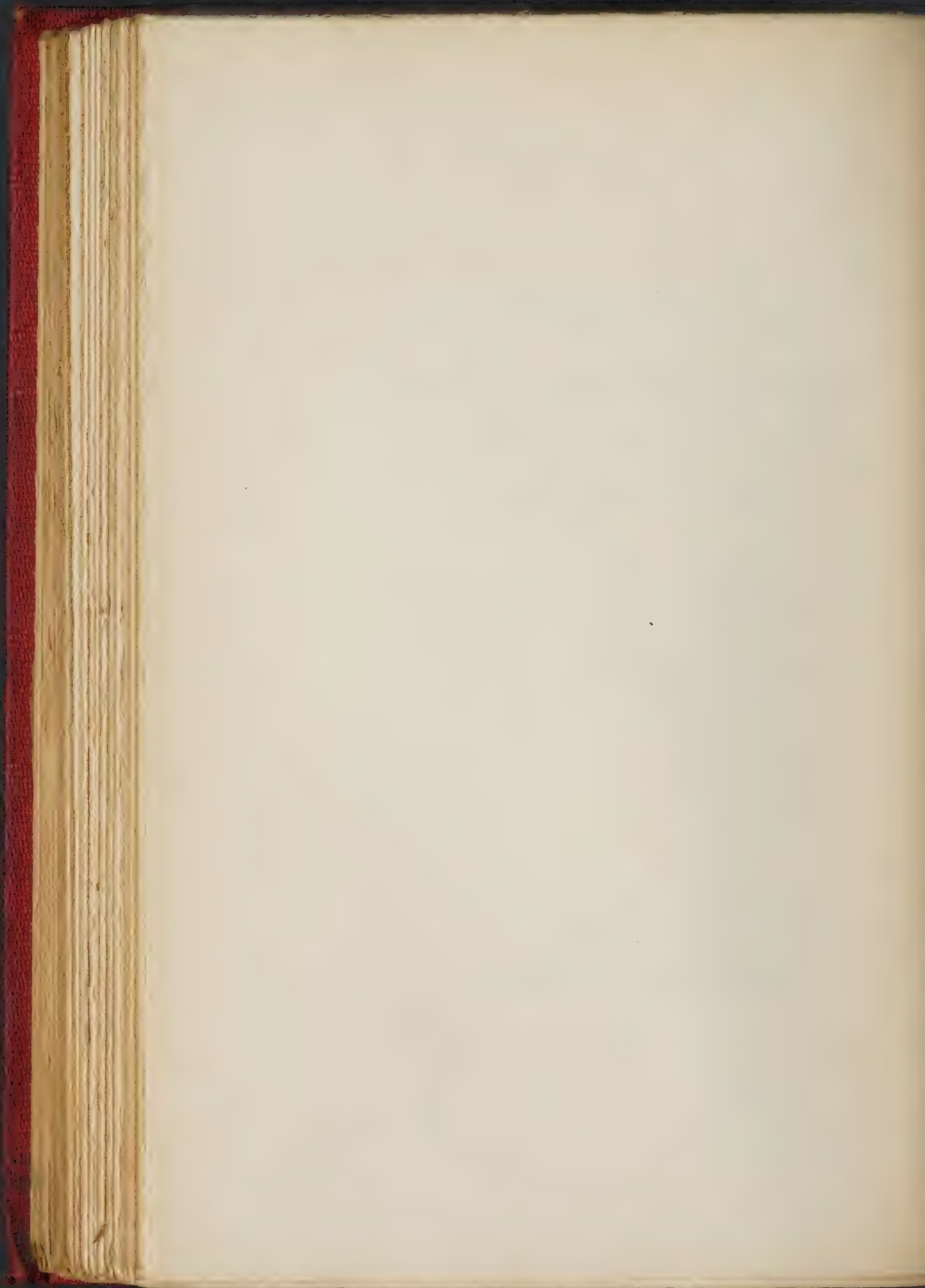
PROTHALAMION:
OR, A SPOUSALL VERSE,

MADE BY

EDM. SPENSER.

*In honour of the double mariage of the two Honorable and vertuous Ladies,
the Ladie Elizabeth, and the Ladie Katherine Somerset, Daughters
to the Right Honorable the Earle of Worcester, and espoused
to the two worthie Gentlemen, M. Henry Gilford
and M. William Peter, Esquyers.*

AT LONDON.
Printed for William Ponsonby.
1596.





PROTHALAMION.

I.



ALME was the day, and through the
trembling ayre
Sweete breathing Zephyrus did softly play,
A gentle spirit, that lightly did delay^a
Hot Titans beames, which then did glyster
fayre ;

When I, whom fullein care, 5
Through discontent of my long fruitlesse stay
In Princes Court, and expectation vayne
Of idle hopes, which still doe fly away,
Like empty shaddowes, did afflict my brayne,
Walkt forth to ease my payne 10
Along the shoare of silver streaming Themmes ;
Whose ruddy Bancke,^b the which his River hemmes,
Was paynted all with variable flowers,
And all the meades adornd with daintie gemmes,
Fit to decke maydens bowres, 15

^a *that lightly did delay.*] *Temper* or *mitigate*, as in F. Q. ii. ix. 30 [vol. ii. p. 249]. "But to *delay* the heat." *Delay* is repeatedly used in this sense by Spenser. TODD.

^b *Whose ruddy Bancke.*] That is, whose bank *full of roots*, &c. *rootie*, an old English adjective. See Cotgrave's Fr. and Eng. Dict. TODD. Chapman is the only other poet, that we are aware of, who used the adjective *rooty*; and so he spelt it, and not "ruddy" as in Spenser: he is speaking of the "rooty sides" of a hill. Iliad, B. xvii. l. 654. C.

And crowne their Paramours
 Against the Brydale day, which is not long :^c
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song.

2.

There, in a Meadow, by the Rivers side,
 A Flocke of Nymphes I chaunced to espy, 20
 All lovely Daughters of the Flood thereby,
 With goodly greenish locks, all loose untyde,
 As each had bene a Bryde ;
 And each one had a little wicker basket,
 Made of fine twigs, entrayled curiously, 25
 In which they gathered flowers to fill their flasket,
 And with fine fingers cropt full feateously
 The tender stalkes on hye.
 Of every sort, which in that Meadow grew,
 They gathered some ; the Violet, pallid blew, 30
 The little Dazie that at evening closes,
 The virgin Lillie, and the Primrose trew,
 With store of vermeil Rosfes,
 To deck their Bridegroomes posies
 Against the Brydale day, which was not long : 35
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song.

3.

With that I saw two Swannes of goodly hewe
 Come softly swimming downe along the Lee ;
 Two fairer Birds I yet did never see :
 The snow, which doth the top of Pindus strew, 40
 Did never whiter shew,
 Nor Jove himselfe, when he a Swan would be
 For love of Leda, whiter did appeare ;

^c *which is not long.*] That is, approaching, near at hand. See F. Q.
 iv. iv. 12 [vol. iii. p. 146]. T. WARTON.

Yet Leda was, they say, as white as he,
 Yet not so white as these, nor nothing neare : 45
 So purely white they were,
 That even the gentle streame, the which them bare,
 Seem'd foule to them, and bad his billowes spare
 To wet their filken feathers, least they might
 Soyle their fayre plumes with water not so fayre, 50
 And marre their beauties bright,
 That shone as heavens light,
 Against their Brydale day, which was not long :
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song.

4.

Eftsoones the Nymphes, which now had Flowers their fill,
 Ran all in haste to see that silver brood, 56
 As they came floating on the cristall Flood ;
 Whom when they sawe, they stood amazed still,
 Their wondring eyes to fill :
 Them seem'd they never saw a sight so fayre, 60
 Of Fowles, so lovely, that they sure did deeme
 Them heavenly borne, or to be that same payre
 Which through the Skie draw Venus silver teeme ;
 For sure they did not seeme
 To be begot of any earthly Seede, 65
 But rather Angels, or of Angels breede :
 Yet were they bred of Somers-heat,^d they say,
 In sweetest Season, when each flower and weede
 The earth did fresh aray ;
 So fresh they seem'd as day, 70
 Even as their Brydale day, which was not long :
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song.

^d *Yet were they bred of Somers-heat.* A punning allusion to the surname of the Ladies [*Somerset*] whose marriages this spousal verse celebrates. TODD.

5.

Then forth they all out of their baskets drew
 Great store of Flowers, the honour of the field,
 That to the sense did fragrant odours yeild, . 75
 All which upon those goodly Birds they threw,
 And all the Waves did strew,
 That like old Peneus Waters they did seeme,
 When downe along by pleasant Tempes shore,
 Scattered with flowres, through Theffaly they streeme, 80
 That they appeare, through Lillies plenteous store,
 Like a Brydes chamber flore.
 Two of those Nymphes, meane while, two Garlands bound
 Of freshest Flowres which in that Mead they found,
 The which presenting all in trim array, 85
 Their snowie foreheads therewithall they crownd,
 Whilst one did sing this Lay,
 Prepar'd against that day,
 Against their Brydale day, which was not long :
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song. 90

6.

" Ye gentle Birdes, the worlds faire ornament,
 " And heavens glorie, whom this happie hower
 " Doth leade unto your lovers blisfull bower,
 " Joy may you have, and gentle hearts content
 " Of your loves couplement ! 95
 " And let faire Venus, that is Queene of love,
 " With her heart-quelling Sonne upon you smile,
 " Whose smile, they say, hath vertue to remove
 " All loves dislike, and friendships faultie guile
 " For ever to assoile. 100
 " Let endlesse Peace your steadfast hearts accord,
 " And blessed Plentie wait upon you[r] bord ;
 " And let your bed with pleasures chaste abound,

“ That fruitfull issue may to you afford,
 “ Which may your foes confound, 105
 “ And make your joyes redound
 “ Upon your Brydale day, which is not long :
 “ Sweete Themmes ! run softlie, till I end my Song.”

7.

So ended she ; and all the rest around
 To her redoubled that her underfong, 110
 Which said, their bridale daye should not be long :
 And gentle Eccho from the neighbour ground
 Their accents did resound.
 So forth those joyous Birdes did passe along
 Adowne the Lee, that to them murmurde low, 115
 As he would speake, but that he lackt a tong,
 Yet did by signes his glad affection show,
 Making his streame run flow :
 And all the foule which in his flood did dwell
 Gan flock about these twaine, that did excell 120
 The rest, so far as Cynthia doth shend
 The lesser starres. So they, enranged well,
 Did on those two attend,
 And their best service lend
 Against their wedding day, which was not long : 125
 Sweete Themmes ! run softly, till I end my Song.

8.

At length they all to mery London came,
 To mery London, my most kyndly Nurse,
 That to me gave this Lifes first native fourse,
 Though from another place I take my name, 130
 An house of auncient fame.
 There when they came, whereas those bricky towres
 The which on Themmes brode aged backe doe ryde,
 Where now the studious Lawyers have their bowers :

There whylome wont the Templer Knights to byde, 135
 Till they decayd through pride ;
 Next whereunto there standes a stately place,
 Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace
 Of that great Lord, which therein wont to dwell ;
 Whose want too well now feels my freendles case : 140
 But ah ! here fits not well
 Olde woes, but joyes, to tell
 Against the Bridale daye, which is not long :
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song.

9.

Yet therein now doth lodge a noble Peer, 145
 Great Englands glory, and the Worlds wide wonder,
 Whose dreadfull name late through all Spaine did thunder,
 And Hercules two pillors standing neere
 Did make to quake and feare.
 Faire branch of Honor, flower of Chevalrie ! 150
 That fillest England with thy triumphes fame,
 Joy have thou of thy noble victorie,
 And endlesse happinesse of thine owne name
 That promiseth the same.
 That through thy prowesse, and victorious armes, 155
 Thy country may be freed from forraine harmes,
 And great Elifaes glorious name may ring
 Through al the world, fil'd with thy wide alarmes,
 Which some brave muse may sing
 To ages following, 160
 Upon the Brydale day, which is not long :
 Sweete Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my Song.

10.

From those high Towers this noble Lord issuing,
 Like radiant Hesper, when his golden hayre
 In th' Ocean billowes he hath bathed fayre, 165

Descended to the Rivers open vewing,
 With a great traine ensuing.
 Above the rest were goodly to bee seene
 Two gentle Knights of lovely face and feature,
 Beseeming well the bower of any Queene, 170
 With gifts of wit, and ornaments of nature,
 Fit for so goodly stature,
 That like the Twins of Jove they seem'd in fight,
 Which decke the Bauldricke of the Heavens bright:
 They two, forth pacing to the Rivers side, 175
 Receiv'd those two faire Brides, their Loves delight;
 Which, at th' appointed tyde,
 Each one did make his Bryde
 Against their Brydale day, which is not long: 179
 Sweete Themmes! runne softly, till I end my Song.





SONNETS

BY SPENSER,

COLLECTED FROM THE PUBLICATIONS IN WHICH
THEY ORIGINALLY APPEARED.

I.

*To the right worshipfull, my singular good frend, M. Gabriell Harvey,
Doctor of the Lawes.*



HARVEY, the happy^a above happieſt men
I read, that, ſitting like a Looker-on
Of this worldeſ ſtage, doeſt note with
critique pen
The ſharpe diſlikes of each condition ;
And, as one careleſſe of ſuſpition,
Ne fawneſt for the favour of the great ;
Ne feareſt fooliſh reprehention
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat :
But freely doeſt, of what thee liſt, entreat,
Like a great lord of peereleſſe liberty ;

^a *Harvey, the happy.*] From “Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets, eſpecially touching Robert Greene, and other parties by him abuſed, &c. Lond. 4to. Impr. by Iohn Wolfe, 1592.” Sign. I. 3. b. Todd. Reprinted in 1814 in a collection called “Archaica, containing a Reprint of ſcarce old Engliſh Proſe Tracts,” vol. ii. C.

Lifting the Good up to high Honours feat,
 And the Evill damning evermore to dy;
 For Life, and Death, is in the doomeful writing.
 So thy renowme lives ever by endighting.

Your devoted friend, during life,

EDMUND SPENCER.

Dublin, this xviii. of July, 1586.

II.

WHOSO wil seeke^b by right deserts t' attaine
 Unto the type of true Nobility,
 And not by painted shewes, and titles vaine,
 Derived farre from famous Auncestrie,
 Behold them both in their right visnomy
 Here truly pourtray'd, as they ought to be,
 And striving both for termes of dignitie,
 To be advanced higheft in degree.
 And, when thou doost with equall insight see
 The ods twixt both, of both them deem aright,
 And chuse the better of them both to thee,
 But thanks to him, that it deserves, behight:
 To Nenna first, that first this worke created,
 And next to Jones, that truely it translated.

ED. SPENSER.

^b *Whofo wil seeke.*] Prefixed to "Nennio, or a Treatise of Nobility, &c. Written in Italian by that famous Doctor and worthy Knight Sir Iohn Baptista Nenna of Bari. Done into English by William Iones, Gent. 4to. 1595." Todd. Besides Spenser, George Chapman, John Day, and others, contributed commendatory poems. C.

III.

*Upon the Historie of George Castriot, alias Scanderbeg, king of the
Epirots, translated into English.*

WHEREFORE doth vaine^c antiquitie so vaunt
Her ancient monuments of mightie peeres,
And old Heroes, which their world did daunt
With their great deedes, and fild their childrens eares?
Who, rapt with wonder of their famous praise,
Admire their statues, their Colossoes great;
Their rich triumphall Arcks which they did raise,
Their huge Pyramids, which do heaven threat.
Lo! one, whom later age hath brought to light,
Matchable to the greatest of those great;
Great both by name, and great in power and might,
And meriting a meere^d triumphant feate.

The scourge of Turkes, and plague of infidels,
Thy acts, O Scanderbeg! this volume tels.

ED. SPENSER.

IV.

THE antique Babel,^e Empresse of the East,
Upheard her buildinges to the threatned skie:

^c *Wherefore doth vaine.*] Prefixed to the "Historie of George Castriot, furnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie: Containing his famous actes, &c. Newly translated out of French into English by Z. I. Gentleman. Impr. for W. Ponsonby, 1596." fol. TODD. Todd misquoted the title of this book, and has been invariably followed in an error which we have corrected. Besides Spenser's sonnet, which comes first, two others by R. C. and by C. C. introduce the volume. C.

^d *And meriting a meere.*] *Absolute, entire.* So, in the "Faerie Queene," he has "*mere* compassion." See also Cotgrave's Dict. in V. *Mere.* TODD. Nothing can be more common than this application of "*mere*;" but there is surely room to suspect that it was here a misprint for *more*. C.

^e *The antique Babel.*] Prefixed to "The Commonwealth and Go-

And second Babel, Tyrant of the West,
 Her ayry towers upraised much more high :
 But, with the weight of their own surquedry,
 They both are fallen, that all the earth did feare,
 And buried now in their own ashes ly ;
 Yet shewing, by their heapes, how great they were.
 But in their place doth now a third appeare,
 Fayre Venice, flower of the last worlds delight,
 And next to them in beauty draweth neare,
 But farre exceeds in policie of right.

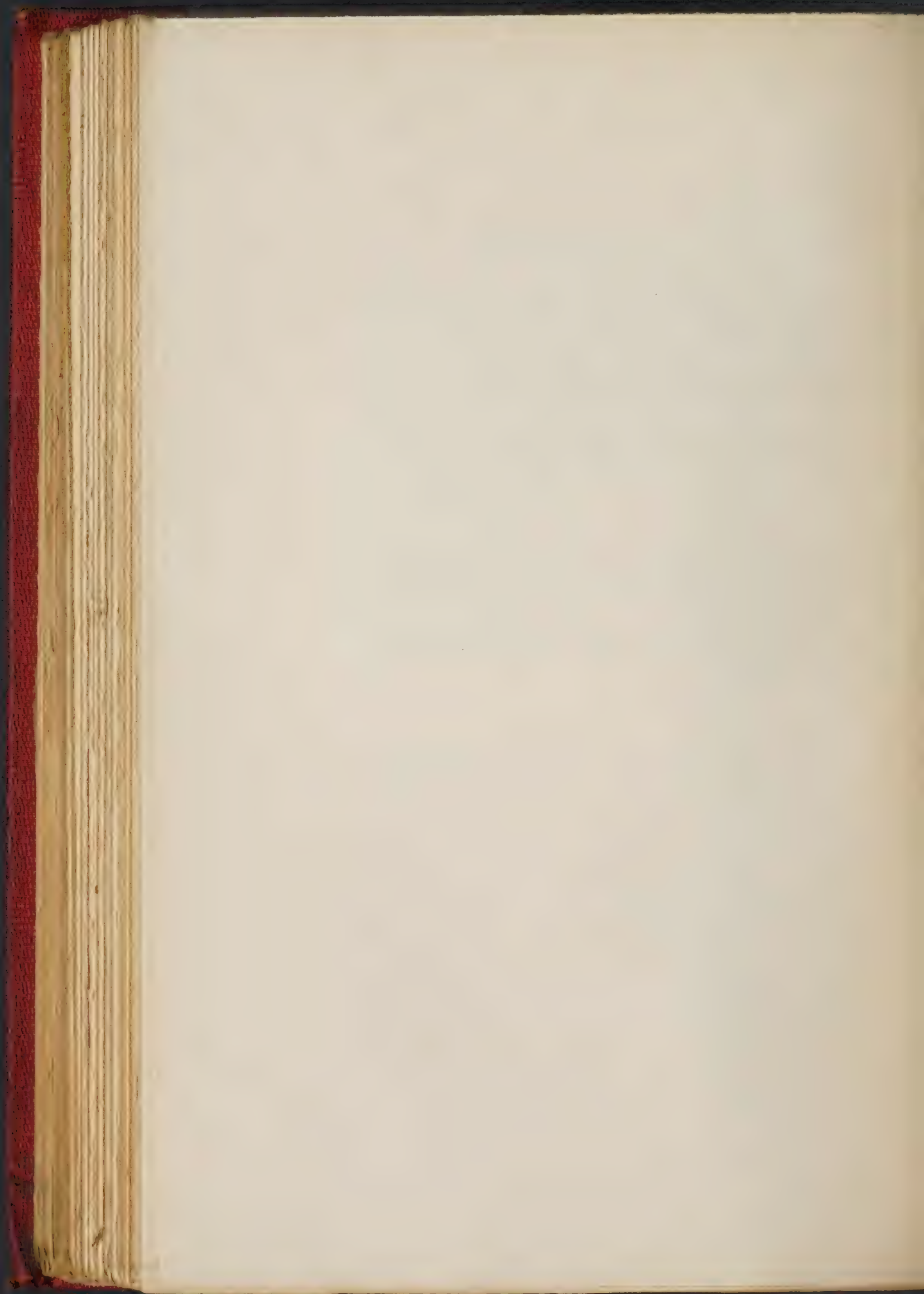
Yet not so fayre her buildinges to behold
 As Lewkenors stile^f that hath her beautie told.

EDM. SPENCER.

vernment of Venice, Written by the Cardinall Gaspar Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire. London, imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, &c. 1599." 4to. TODD.

^f *As Lewkenors stile.*] Five years earlier Lewkenor had published a translation from the Spanish, under the title of "The Resolved Gentleman." 4to. 1594. C.





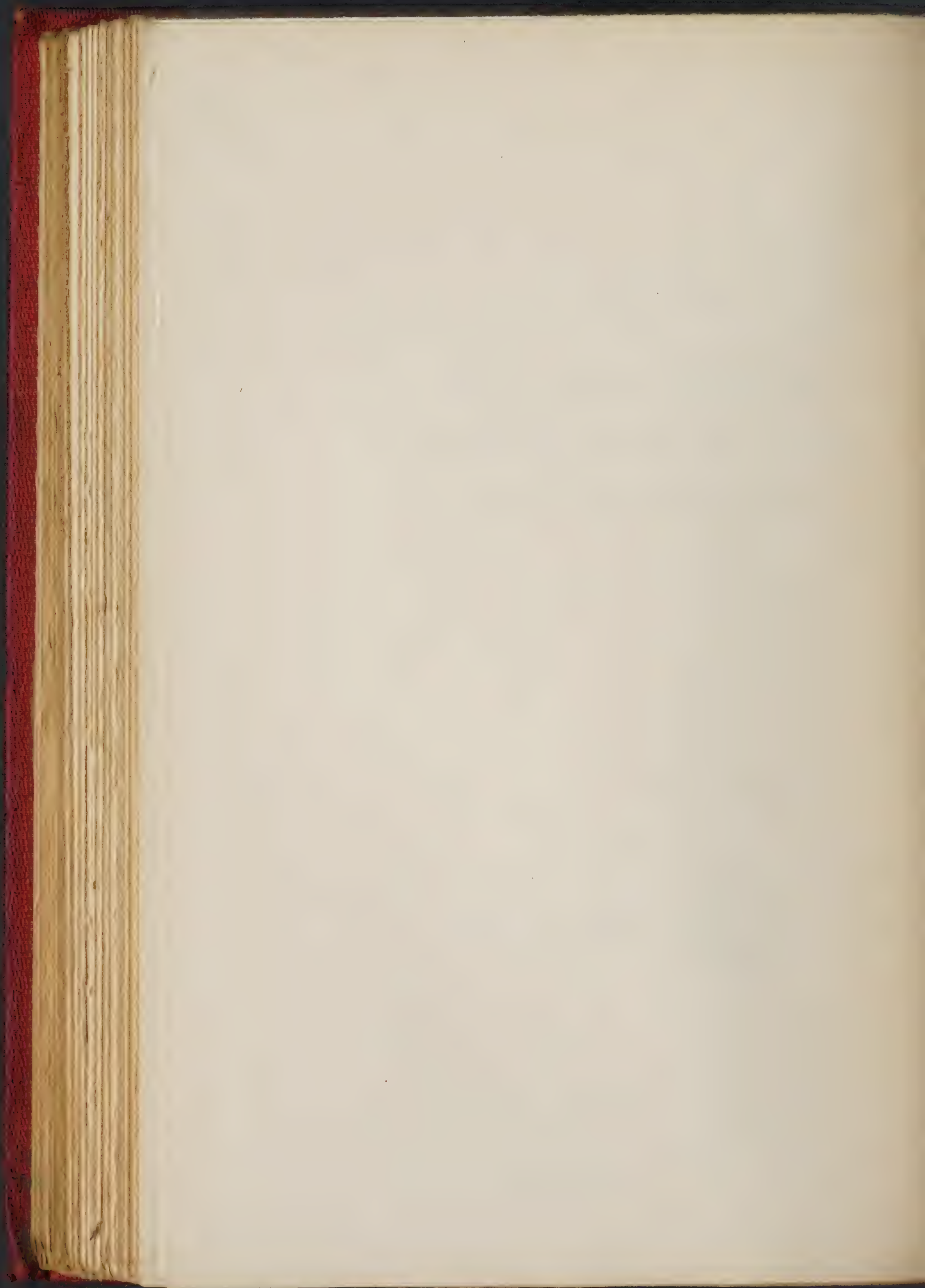
“BRITAIN’S IDA.

WRITTEN BY THAT RENOWNED POËT,

EDMOND SPENCER.

LONDON:

Printed for THOMAS WALKLEY, and are to be
fold at his shop at the Eagle and Child
in Brittaines Burffe. 1628.”



THE EPISTLE.

TO THE RIGHT NOBLE LADY, MARY,

DAUGHTER TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

GEORGE, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MOST noble Lady, I have presumed to present this Poem to your honourable hand, encouraged onely by the worth of the famous Author, (for I am certainly assured, by the ablest and most knowing men, that it must be a worke of *Spencers*, of whom it were pittie that any thing should bee lost) and doubting not but your Lady-ship will graciously accept, though from a meane hand, this humble present, since the man that offers it is a true honourer of your selfe and your princely family, and shall ever remaine

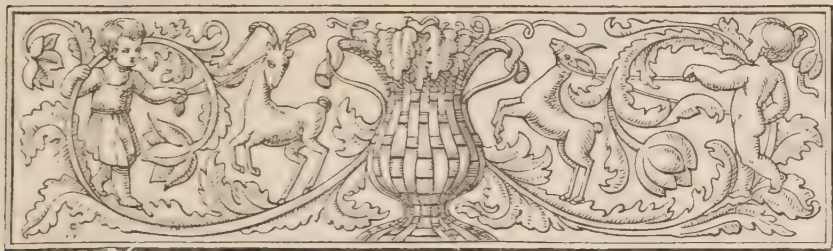
The humblest of your devoted servants,

Thomas Walkley.

MARTIAL.

*Accipe facundi Culicem studiose Maronis,
Ne nugis positus, arma virumque canas.*

SEE here that stately Muse, that erst could raise
In lasting numbers great Elizaes praise,
And dresse fair Vertue in so rich attire,
That even her foes were forced to admire
And court her heavenly beauty! Shee that taught
The Graces grace, and made the Vertues thought
More vertuous than before, is pleased here
To slacke her serious flight, and feed your eare
With love's delightful toys: doe not refuse
These harmlesse sports; 'tis learned Spencer's Muse;
But think his loosest poems worthier then
The serious follies of vnskillfull men.



BRITTAİN'S IDA.^a

CANTO I.

THE ARGUMENT.

*The youthly Shepheards winning here,
And Beauties rare displayd, appeare;
What exercise hee chiefe affects,
His name, and scornfull love neglects.*

I.



N Ida vale (who knowes not Ida vale?)
When harmlesse Troy yet felt not Græ-
cian spite,
An hundred shepheards wonn'd, and in
the dale,

^a *Brittain's Ida.*] We are unwilling to exclude anything that has ever been imputed to Spenser; and although we are convinced, with T. Warton (*Observ. on F. Q.* vol. i. p. 123, edit. 1762), that Spenser was not the author of "*Brittain's Ida*," as it is short, and possesses considerable merit of its own, we insert it. The reader will thus be able to form his own opinion. T. Walkley, who first printed it in 12mo. in 1628, only tells us that he was "certainly assured" that "it must be a work of Spenser's;" but he furnishes no evidence beyond what is merely internal, unless we also take into account the assertion of the writer of the not ungraceful preliminary verses, "'tis learned Spenser's Muse." It has a much more modern air than anything else Spenser has left behind him, and we do not believe that it was produced, at the earliest, until near the close of the reign of James I: in St. xi. of Canto iii. the author speaks of his "new-born quill." The poem is not even an imitation of Spenser, nor, as far as we can judge, was it intended to be so. C.

While their faire flockes the three-leav'd pastures bite,
 The shepheards boyes with hundred sportings light,
 Gave winges unto the times too speedy haſt :
 Ah, fooliſh Lads ! that ſtrove with laſhwaſt
 So faſt to ſpend the time that ſpends your time as faſt.

2.

Among the reſt, that all the reſt excel'd,
 A dainty boy there wonn'd, whoſe harmleſſe yeares
 Now in their freſheſt budding gently ſweld ;
 His nimph-like face nere felt the nimble ſheeres,
 Youth's downy bloſſome through his cheek appears ;
 His lovely limbes (but love he quite diſcarded)
 Were made for play (but he no play regarded)
 And fit love to reward, and with love be rewarded.

3.

High was his fore-head, arch't with ſilver mould,
 (Where never anger churliſh rinkle dighted,)
 His auburne lockes hung like darke threds of gold,
 That wanton aires (with their faire length incited)
 To play among their wanton curles delighted ;
 His ſmiling eyes with ſimple truth were ſtor'd :
 Ah ! how ſhould truth in thoſe thiefe eyes be ſtor'd,
 Which thouſand loves had ſtol'n, and never one re-
 ſtor'd ?

4.

His lilly-cheeke might ſeeme an ivory plaine,
 More purely white than frozen Apenine,
 Where lovely Baſhfulneſſe did ſweetly raine
 In bluſhing ſcarlet cloth'd, and purple fine.
 A hundred hearts had this delightfull ſhrine,
 (Still cold it ſelfe) inflam'd with hot deſire,
 That well the face might ſeem, in divers tire,
 To be a burning ſnow, or elſe a freezing fire.

5.

His cheerfull lookes and merry face would proove
(If eyes the index be where thoughts are read)
A dainty play-fellow for naked Love :
Of all the other parts enough is fed,
That they were fit twins for so fayre a head.

Thoufand boyes for him, thoufand maidens dy'de ;
Dye they that lift, for fuch his rigorous pride,
He thoufand boyes (ah, Foole !) and thoufand maids
deni'd.

6.

His joy was not in musiques fweete delight,
(Though well his hand had learnt that cunning arte,)
Or dainty songs to daintier eares indite,
But through the plaines to chace the nimble hart
With well-tun'd hounds ; or with his certaine dart
The tusked boare or favage beare to wound :
Meane time his heart with monfters doth abound ;
Ah, Foole ! to feeke fo farre what neerer might be
found.

7.

His name (well knowne unto thofe woody fhades,
Where unrewarded lovers oft complaine them,)
Anchifes was ; Anchifes oft the glades
And mountains heard, Anchifes had difdain'd them ;
Not all their love one gentle looke had gain'd them,
That rocky hills, with ecchoing noyfe confenting,
Anchifes plain'd ; but he, no whit relenting,
Harder then rocky hils, laught at their vaine lamenting.

CANTO II.

THE ARGUMENT.

*Diones Garden of Delight
With wonder holds Anchises sight;
While from the bower such musique sounds,
As all his senses neere confounds.*

I.

 NE day it chanc't as hee the deere perfude,
Tyred with sport, and faint with weary play,
Faure Venus grove not farre away he view'd,
Whose trembling leaves invite him there to stay,
And in their shades his sweating limbes display;
There in the cooling glade he softly paces,
And much delighted with their even spaces,
What in himfelfe he scorn'd, hee prais'd their kind
imbraces.

2.

The woode with Paphian myrtles peopled,
(Whose springing youth felt never winters spiting,)
To laurels sweete were sweetely married,
Doubling their pleasing smels in their uniting;
When fingle much, much more when mixt, delighting:
No foot of beaste durst touch this hallowed place,
And many a boy that long'd the woods to trace
Entred with feare, but soone turn'd back his frighted
face.

3.

The thicke-lockt boughs shut out the tell-tale Sunne,
(For Venus hated his all-blabbing light,
Since her knowne fault, which oft she wisht undon,)
And scattered rayes did make a doubtfull sight,
Like to the first of day or last of night:

The fittest light for lovers gentle play.
 Such light best shewes the wandring lovers way,
 And guides his erring hand : night is Loves hollyday.

4.

So farre in this sweete labyrinth he stray'd
 That now he views the Garden of Delight,
 Whose breast, with thousand painted flowers array'd,
 With divers joy captiv'd his wandring sight :
 But soon the eyes rendred the eares their right ;
 For such strange harmony he seem'd to heare,
 That all his senses flockt into his eare,
 And every faculty wisht to be seated there.

5.

From a close bower this dainty musique flow'd,
 A bower appareld round with divers roses,
 Both red and white, which by their liveries show'd
 Their mistress faire, that there her selfe repofes ;
 Seem'd that would strive with those rare musique clozes,
 By spreading their faire bosomes to the light,
 Which the distracted sense should most delight ;
 That raps the melted eare ; this both the smel and sight.

6.

The boy 'twixt fearefull hope, and wishing feare,
 Crept all along (for much he long'd to see
 The bower, much more the guest so lodged there ;)
 And, as he goes, he marks how well agree
 Nature and Arte in discord unity,
 Each striving who should best performe his part,
 Yet Arte now helping Nature, Nature Arte ;
 While from his eares a voyce thus stole his heart.

7.

*“ Fond Men ! whose wretched care the life soone ending,
 By striving to increase your joy, do spend it ;*

*And spending joy, yet find no joy in spending ;
 You hurt your life by striving to amend it,
 And seeking to prolong it, soonest end it :*

*Then, while fit time affords thee time and leasure,
 Enjoy while yet thou mayst thy lifes sweet pleasure :
 Too foolish is the man that starves to feed his treasure.*

8.

*" Love is lifes end, (an end, but never ending)
 All joyes, all sweetes, all happinesse, awarding ;
 Love is life's wealth (nere spent, but ever spending)
 More rich by giving, taking by discarding ;
 Love's lifes reward, rewarded in rewarding :
 Then, from thy wretched heart fond care remove ;
 Ah ! shouldst thou live but once loves sweetes to proove,
 Thou wilt not love to live, unlesse thou live to love."*

9.

*To this sweet voyce a dainty musique fitted
 It's well-tun'd strings, and to her notes conformed,
 And while with skilfull voyce the song she dittied,
 The blabbing Echo had her words retorted ;
 That now the boy, beyond his soule transported,
 Through all his limbes feelles run a pleasant shaking,
 And, twixt a hope and feare, suspects mistaking,
 And doubts he sleeping dreames, and broad awake
 feares waking.*

CANTO III.

THE ARGUMENT.

*Faire Cythereas limbes beheld,
The straying lads heart so intral'd,
That in a trance his melted spright
Leaves th' fences slumbring in delight.*

I.

NOW to the bower hee sent his theevish eyes
To steale a happy sight; there doe they finde
Faire Venus, that within halfe naked lyes;
And straight amaz'd (so glorious beauty shin'd)
Would not returne the message to the minde;
But, full of feare and superstitious awe,
Could not retire, or backe their beams withdraw,
So fixt on too much seeing made they nothing saw.

2.

Her goodly length stretcht on a lilly-bed,
(A bright foyle of a beauty farre more bright)
Few roses round about were scattered,
As if the lillies learnt to blush, for spight
To see a skinne much more then lilly-white:
The bed sanke with delight so to be pressed,
And knew not which to thinke a chance more blessed,
Both blessed so to kisse, and so agayne be kissed.

3.

Her spacious fore-head, like the clearest moone
Whose full-growne orbe begins now to be spent,
Largely display'd in native silver shone,
Giving wide room to Beauty's regiment,
Which on the plaine with Love tryumphing went;

Her golden haire a rope of pearle imbraced,
Which, with their dainty threds oft-times enlaced,
Made the eie think the pearle was there in gold inchased.

4.

Her full large eye, in jetty-blacke array'd,
Prov'd beauty not confin'd to red and white,
But oft her felfe in blacke more rich display'd;
Both contraries did yet themselves unite,
To make one beauty in different delight:
A thousand Loves fate playing in each eye;
And smiling Mirth, kissing fair Courtesie,
By sweete perswasion wan a bloodlesse victory.

5.

The whitest white, fet by her silver cheeke,
Grew pale and wan, like unto heavy lead;
The freshest purple fresher dyes must seeke,
That dares compare with them his fainting red:
On these Cupido winged armies led
Of little Loves that, with bold wanton traine
Under those colours, marching on the plaine,
Force every heart, and to low vasselage constraine.

6.

Her lips, most happy each in other's kisses,
From their so wisht embracements feldome parted,
Yet seem'd to blush at such their wanton blisses;
But when sweet words their joyning sweet disparted,
To th' eare a dainty musique they imparted:
Upon them fitly fate, delightfull smiling,
A thousand foules with pleasing stealth beguiling:
Ah! that such shews of joyes should be all joyes exiling.

7.

The breath came slowly thence, unwilling leaving
So sweet a lodge; but when she once intended

To feast the aire with words, the heart deceiving,
 More fast it thronged so to be expended ;
 And at each word a hundred Loves attended,
 Playing i' th' breath, more sweete than is that firing
 Where that Arabian onely bird, expiring,
 Lives by her death, by losse of breath more fresh
 respiring.

8.

Her chin, like to a stone in gold inchaſed,
 Seem'd a fair jewell wrought with cunning hand,
 And, being double, doubly the face graced.
 This goodly frame on her round necke did stand ;
 Such pillar well such curious work sustain'd ;
 And, on his top the heavenly spheare up-rearing,
 Might well present, with daintier appearing,
 A lesse but better Atlas, that faire heaven bearing.

9.

Lower two breasts stand, all their beauties bearing,
 Two breasts as smooth and soft ;^b but, ah, alas !
 Their smoothest softnes farre exceeds comparing ;
 More smooth and soft, but naught that ever was,
 Where they are first, deserves the second place ;
 Yet each as soft and each as smooth as other ;
 And when thou first tri'st one, and then the other,
 Each softer seemes then each, and each then each
 seemes smoother.

10.

Lowly betweene their dainty hemisphæres,
 (Their hemisphæres the heav'nly globes excelling)
 A path more white than is the name it beares,

^b *Two breasts as smooth and soft.*] Ought we not here to read "as smooth as soft?" Just above, "bearing" means *baring*. C.

The Lacteal Path, conducts to the sweet dwelling
 Where best Delight all joyes fits freely dealing ;
 Where hundred sweetes, and still fresh joyes attending,
 Receive in giving ; and, still love dispending,
 Grow richer by their losse, and wealthy by expending.

11.

But stay, bold Shepherd ! here thy footing stay,
 Nor trust too much unto thy new-borne quill,
 As farther to those dainty limbs to stray,
 Or hope to paint that vale or beauteous hill
 Which past the finest hand or choicest skill :
 But were thy verse and song as finely fram'd
 As are those parts, yet should it soone be blam'd,
 For now the shameles world of best things is asham'd.

12.

That cunning artist, that old Greece admir'd,
 Thus farre his Venus fitly portrayed,
 But there he left, nor farther ere aspir'd ;
 His dædale hand, that Nature perfected
 By Arte, felt Arte by Nature limited.
 Ah ! well he knew, though his fit hand could give
 Breath to dead colours, teaching marble live,
 Yet would these lively parts his hand of skill deprive.

13.

Such when this gentle boy her closely view'd,
 Onely with thinnest filken vaile o'er-layd,
 Whose snowy colour much more snowy shew'd
 By being next that skin, and all betray'd,
 Which best in naked beauties are array'd,
 His spirits, melted with so glorious sight,
 Ran from their worke to see so splendid light,
 And left the fainting limbes sweet flumbring in delight.

CANTO IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

*The fwounding fwaine recovered is
By th' goddesse; his foule-rapting blisse:
Their mutual conference, and how
Her service she doth him allow.*

I.

SOFT-SLEEPING Venus, waked with the fall,
Looking behind, the sinking boy espies;
With all she starts, and wondereth withall;
She thinks that there her faire Adonis dyes,
And more she thinkes the more the boy she eyes:
So, stepping neerer, up begins to reare him;
And now with Love himselfe she will confer him,
And now before her Love himselfe she will prefer him.

2.

The lad, soone with that dainty touch reviv'd,
Feeling himselfe so well, so sweetly seated,
Begins to doubt whether he yet here liv'd,
Or else his flitting soul, to heav'n translated,
Was there in starry throne and blisse instated:
Oft would he dye, so to be often sated;
And now with happy wish he closly craved
For ever to be dead, to be so sweet ingraved.

3.

The Paphian princeffe (in whose lovely breast
Spiteful disdaine could never find a place)
When now she saw him from his fit releast,
(To Juno leaving wrath and scolding base)
Comforts the trembling boy with smiling grace;

But oh! those smiles (too full of sweete delight)
 Surfeit his heart, full of the former fight;
 So seeking to revive more wounds his feeble sprite.

4.

"Tell me, fair Boy! (sayd she) what erring chance
 Hither directed thy unwary pace?
 For sure Contempt or Pride durst not advance
 Their foule aspect in thy so pleasant face:
 Tell me, what brought thee to this hidden place?
 Or lacke of love, or mutuall answering fire?
 Or hindred by ill chance in thy desire?
 Tell me, what ist thy faire and wishing eyes require?"

5.

The boy, (whose sence was never yet acquainted
 With such a musique,) stood with eares arected,
 And, sweetly with that pleasant spell enchanted,
 More of those sugred straines long time expected;
 Till seeing she his speeches not rejected,
 First sighes arising from his heart's low center,
 Thus gan reply, when each word bold would venter,
 And strive the first that dainty labyrinth to enter.

6.

"Fair Cyprian Queene, (for well that heavenly face
 Prooves thee the mother of all-conquering Love)
 Pardon, I pray thee, my unweeting pace;
 For no presumptuous thoughts did hither moove
 My daring feete to this thy holy grove
 But lucklesse chance (which, if you not gaine-say,
 I still must rue) hath caus'd me here to stray,
 And lose my selfe (alas!) in losing of my way.

7.

"Nor did I come to right my wronged fire:
 Never till now I saw what ought be loved;

And now I fee, but never dare aspire
To moove my hope, where yet my love is mooved ;
Whence though I would, I would it not remooved :
Only since I have plac't my love so high,
Which sure thou must, or sure thou wilt, deny,
Grant me yet still to love, though in my love to dye."

8.

But shee that in his eyes Loves face had seen,
And flaming heart, did not such suite disdain,
(For cruelty fits not sweete Beauties queene)
But gently could his passion entertaine,
Though she Loves princeesse, he a lowly swaine.
First of his bold intrusion she acquites him,
Then to her service (happy Boy !) admits him,
And, like another Love, with bow and quiver fits him.

9.

And now with all the Loves he grew acquainted,
And Cupids selfe, with his like face delighted,
Taught him a hundred wayes with which he daunted
The prouder hearts, and wronged lovers righted,
Forcing to love that most his love despited :
And now the practise boy did so approve him,
And with such grace and cunning arte did moove him,
That all the pritty Loves and all the Graces love him.

CANTO V.

THE ARGUMENT.

*The lovers sad despairing plaints
Bright Venus with his love acquaints ;
Sweetly importun'd, he doth shew
From whom proceedeth this his woe.*

I.

YET never durst his faint and coward heart
(Ah, Foole ! faint heart faire lady ne're could
win)

Affaile faire Venus with his new-learnt arte,
But kept his love and burning flame within,
Which more flam'd out the more he prest it in ;
And thinking oft how just shee might disdain him,
While some cool mirtle shade did entertaine him,
Thus fighting would he sit, and sadly would he plain
him :

2.

“ Ah, fond and haplesse Boy ! nor know I whether
More fond or haplesse more, that all so high
Hast plac't thy heart, where love and fate together
May never hope to end thy misery,
Nor yet thy self dare wish a remedy :
All hindrances (alas !) conspire to let it ;
Ah, fond, and hapless Boy ! if canst not get it !
In thinking to forget, at length learne to forget it.

3.

“ Ah, farre too fond, but much more haplesse Swaine !
Seeing thy love can be forgotten never,
Serve and observe thy love with willing paine ;

And though in vaine thy love thou doe persever,
Yet all in vaine doe thou adore her ever.

No hope can crowne thy thoughts so farre aspiring,
Nor dares thy selfe desire thine owne desiring,
Yet live thou in her love, and dye in her admiring."

4.

Thus oft the hopelesse boy complayning lyes;
But she, that well could guesse his sad lamenting,
(Who can conceal love from Loves mothers eyes?)
Did not disdaine to give his love contenting;
Cruel the soule that feeds on soules tormenting:

Nor did she scorne him, though not nobly borne,
(Love is nobility) nor could she scorne
That with so noble skill her title did adorne.

5.

One day it chanc't, thrice happy day and chance!
While Loves were with the Graces sweetly sporting,
And to fresh musique founding play and dance,
And Cupids selfe, with shepheards boys consorting,
Laugh'd at their pritty sport and simple courting,
Faire Venus feats the fearfull boy close by her,
Where never Phœbus jealous lookes might eye her,
And bids the boy his mistris and her name descry her.

6.

Long time the youth bound up in silence stood,
While hope and feare with hundred thoughts begun
Fit prologue to his speech; and fearefull blood
From heart and face with these post-tydings runne,
That eyther now he's made, or now undon;
At length his trembling words, with feare made weake,
Began his too long silence thus to breake,
While from his humble eies first reverence seem'd to
speake.

7.

“ Faire Queene of Love! my life thou maist command,
 Too slender price for all thy former grace
 Which I receive at thy so bounteous hand;
 But never dare I speak her name and face;
 My life is much lesse priz'd than her disgrace:
 And, for I know if I her name relate
 I purchase anger, I must hide her state,
 Unlessse thou sweare by Stix I purchase not her hate.”

8.

Faire Venus well perceiv'd his subtile shift,
 And, swearing gentle patience, gently smil'd,
 While thus the boy persu'd his former drift:
 “ No tongue was ever yet so sweetly skil'd,
 Nor greatest orator so highly stil'd,
 Though helpt with all the choicest artes direction,
 But when he durst describe her heaven's perfection,
 By his imperfect praise disprais'd his imperfection.

9.

“ Her forme is as her selfe, perfect cœlestriall,
 No mortall spot her heavenly frame disgraces:
 Beyond compare such nothing is terrestriall;
 More sweete than thought or pow'rfull with embraces;
 The map of heaven, the summe of all her graces:
 But if you wish more truly limb'd to eye her,
 Than fainting speech or words can well descry her,
 Look in a glasse, and there more perfect you may spy
 her.”

CANTO VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

*The boyes short wish, her larger grant,
That doth his soule with blisse enchant;
Whereof impatient uttering all,
Inraged Jove contrives his thrall.*

I.

“HY crafty arte,” reply’d the smiling queene,
“Hath well my chiding and not rage^c pre-
vented,

Yet might’st thou thinke that yet ’twas never seene
That angry rage and gentle love consented;
But if to me thy true love is presented,
What wages for thy service must I owe thee?
For by the selfe-same vow I here avow thee,
Whatever thou require I frankly will allow thee.”

2.

“Pardon,” replies the boy, “for so affecting
Beyond mortallity, and not discarding
Thy service, was much more than my expecting;
But if thou (more thy bounty-hood regarding)
Wilt needs heap up reward upon rewarding,
Thy love I dare not aske, or mutual firing,
One kisse is all my love and prides aspiring,
And after starve my heart for my too much desiring.”

^c and not rage.] Perhaps “*hot* rage:” below, Todd read *fixing* for “firing;” probably only a misprint. C.

3.

"Fond Boy!" (sayd she) "too fond, that askt no more;
 Thy want by taking is no whit decreased,
 And giving spends not our increasing store."—
 Thus with a kisse his lips she sweetly pressed;
 Most blessed kisse, but hope more than most blessed!
 The boy did thinke heaven fell while thus he joy'd,
 And while joy he so greedily enjoy'd,
 He felt not halfe his joy by being overjoy'd.

4.

"Why fighst? faire Boy," (sayd she) "dost thou repent
 thee
 Thy narrow wifh in such straight bonds to stay?"
 "Well may I figh," (sayd he) "and well lament me,
 That never such a debt may hope to pay."
 "A kisse," (sayd she) "a kisse will back repay."
 "Wilt thou" (reply'd the boy, too much delighted,)
 "Content thee with such pay to be requited?"
 She grants; and he his lips, heart, soule, to payment
 cited.

5.

Look as a ward, long from his lands detain'd,
 And subject to his guardians cruel lore,
 Now spends the more, the more he was restrain'd;
 So he; yet though in laying out his store
 He doubly takes, yet finds himself grow poore;
 With that he markes, and tels her out a score,
 And doubles them, and trebles all before.
 Fond boy! the more thou paist, thy debt still grows
 the more.

6.

At length, whether these favours so had fir'd him
 With kindly heate, inflaming his desiring,
 Or whether those sweete kiffes had inspir'd him,
 He thinkes that something wants for his requiring,

And still aspires, yet knows not his aspiring ;
But yet though that hee knoweth so she gave,
That he presents himselfe her bounden slave,
Still his more wishing face seem'd somewhat else to
crave.

7.

And, boldned with successe and many graces,
His hand, chain'd up in feare, he now releast,
And asking leave, courag'd with her imbraces,
Againe it prisson'd in her tender breast :
Ah, blessed prisson ! prisoners too much blest !
There with those sisters long time doth he play,
And now full boldly enters loves highway,
While downe the pleasant vale his creeping hand doth
stray.

8.

She, not displeas'd with this his wanton play,
Hiding his blushing with a sugred kisse,
With such sweete heat his rudenesse doth allay,
That now he perfect knowes whatever blisse
Elder love taught, and he before did misse ;
That moult with joy, in such untri'd joyes trying,
He gladly dies ; and death new life applying,
Gladly againe he dyes, that oft he may be dying.

9.

Long thus he liv'd, slumbring in sweete delight,
Free from sad care and fickle worlds annoy,
Bathing in liquid joyes his melted sprite ;
And longer mought, but he (ah, foolish Boy !)
Too proud, and too impatient of his joy,
To woods, and heav'n, and earth, his blisse imparted,
That Jove upon him downe his thunder darted,
Blasting his splendent face, and all his beauty swarted.

10.

Such be his chance that to his love doth wrong;^d
 Unworthy he to have so worthy place,
 That cannot hold his peace and blabbing tongue;
 Light joyes float on his lips, but rightly grace
 Sinckes deepe, and th' heart's low center doth imbrace.
 Might I enjoy my love till I unfold it;
 I'd lose all favours when I blabbing told it:
 He is not fit for love that is not fit to hold it.

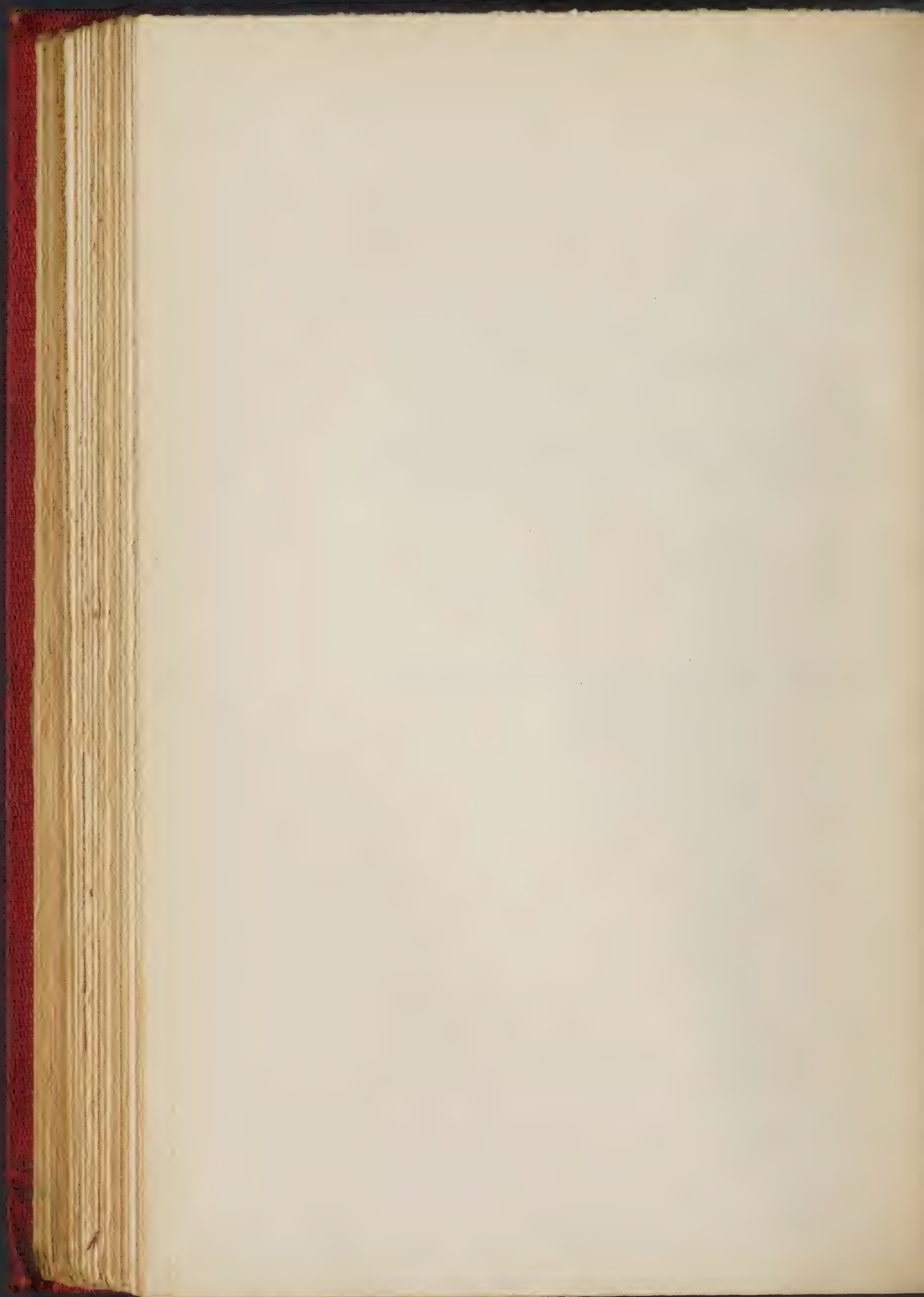
^d *that to his love doth wrong.*] No emendation is necessary, but possibly the poet (whoever he might be) wrote "that *so* his love doth wrong." Three lines lower, "rightly," reads like an error of the press; but we know not how to correct it. C.



A VIEW OF THE STATE OF
IRELAND:

BY EDMUND SPENSER.

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE BETWEENE EUDOXUS
AND IRENÆUS.





A VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND.

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE BETWEENE

EUDOXUS AND IRENÆUS.

Eudox.



UT if that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soyl, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

Iren. Marry, so there have bin divers good plottes devised, and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realme; but they say, it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, wil prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinke the cause of this evill, which hangeth upon that countrey, to proceed

rather of the unsoundnes of the counsels, and plots, which you say have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintnes in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course appointed of God, as you misdeem: but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succeede not as they would, they are alwayes readie to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their owne follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, (even of some whose great wisedomes in opinion should seeme to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration) that all that land were a sea-poole: which kinde of speech, is the manner rather of desperate men farre driven, to wish the utter ruine of that which they cannot redress, then of grave counsellors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that thorough wisedome, it may be mastered and subdued; since the Poet saith, that "the wise man shall rule even over the starres," much more over the earth; for were it not the part of a desperate phisitian to wish his diseased patient dead, rather then to apply the best indeavour of his skill for his recovery. But since we are so farre entred, let us, I pray you, a little devise of those evils, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot (as you say) be recured. And if it be not painefull to you, tell us what things, during your late continuance there, you observed to bee most offensive, and greatest impeachment to the good rule and government thereof.

Iren. Surely Eudox. The evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora. But since you please, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but some that are most capitall, and commonly occurrent both in the life and conditions of private men, as also in the managing of publicke affaires and pollicy, the which you

shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of verie great antiquitie and continuance; others more late and of lesse indurance; others dayly growing and increasing continuallie by their evill occasions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them then, I pray you, in the same order that you have now rehearsed them; for there can be no better method then this which the very matter it selfe offereth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for the redressing of them: after which there will perhaps of it selfe appeare some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect rule of government, by shunning the former evils, and following the offered good. The which method we may learne of the wise Phisitians, which first require that the malady be knowne throughly, and discovered; afterwards to teach how to cure and redresse it; and lastly doe prescribe a dyet, with straight rule and orders to be dayly observed, for feare of relapse into the former disease, or falling into some other more dangerous then it.

Iren. I will then, according to your advisement, begin to declare the evils, which seeme to me most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; and first, those (I say) which were most auncient and long growne. And they also are of three sorts; the first in the Lawes, the second in Customes, and the last in Religion.

Eudox. Why, Irenæus, can there be any evill in the Lawes? can things, which are ordained for the good and safety of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote, both in that state and in all other, that were they not contained in duty with feare of law, which restraineth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, no man should enjoy any thing; every mans hand would be against another. Therefore, in finding fault with the lawes, I doubt me, you shall much over-shoote

your felfe, and make me the more diflike your other diflikes of that government.

Iren. The lawes Eudox. I doe not blame for themfelves, knowing right well that all lawes are ordained for the good of the common-weale, and for repressing of licentiousness and vice; but it falleth out in lawes, no otherwise then it doth in physick, which was at first devised, and is yet daylie ment, and ministred for the health of the patient. But neverthelesse we often see, that either thorough ignorance of the disease, or thorough unseasonableness of the time, or other accidents comming betweene, in stead of good, it worketh hurt, and, out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miseries. So the lawes were at first intended for the reformation of abuses, and peaceable continuance of the subject; but are sithence either disannulled, or quite prevaricated thorough change and alteration of times, yet are they good still in themselves; but, in that commonwealth which is ruled by them, they worke not that good which they should, and sometimes also that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether doe you mean this by the common-lawes of that realme, or by the Statute Lawes, and Acts of Parliaments?

Iren. Surely by them both; for even the common law, being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conquest and laid upon the neck of England, though perhaps it fitted well with the state of England then being, and was readily obeyed thorough the power of the commander, which had before subdued the people unto him, and made easie way to the setting of his will; yet with the state of Ireland peradventure it doth not so well agree, being a people very stubborne, and untamed, or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite shooke off their yoake, and broken the bonds of their obedience. For England (before the entrance of the Conqueror) was a

peaceable kingdome, and but lately inured to the milde and goodly government of Edward, furnamed the Confessor; besides now lately growne into a loathing and detestation of the unjust and tyrannous rule of Harold, an usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable conditions and order of the new victor, thinking surely that it could be no worse then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former; yet what the prooffe of first bringing in and establishing of those lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is farre otherwise; for it is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongst themselves, and in their owne kinde of military discipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aside, nor made to learne obedience unto lawes, scarcely to know the name of law, but in stead thereof have alwayes preserved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

Iren. It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great shew of equity in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to Gods law, and mans: As for example in the case of murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer, and the friends of the party murdered which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is slain, a recompence, which they call an Eriach: by which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this judge being, as hee is called, the Lords Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto his Lord, that is

the Lord of the foyle, or the head of that sept,^a and also unto himfelfe for his judgement, a greater portion then unto the plaintiffes or parties greived.

Eudox. This is a most wicked law indeed : but I trust it is not now used in Ireland, since the kings of England have had the absolute dominion thereof, and established their owne lawes there.

Iren. Yes truly ; for there be many wide countries in Ireland, which the lawes of England were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made ; and also even in those which are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection, yet the same Brehon law is practised among themselves, by reason that dwelling, as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list, and compound or altogether conceale amongst themselves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had, by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the lawes of England.

Eudox. What is this which you say ? And is there any part of that realme, or any nation therein, which have not yet beene subdued to the crowne of England ? Did not the whole realme universally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous memory, Henry the viiith, for their onely King and Liege Lord ?

Iren. Yes verily : in a Parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, then Lord Deputy, all the Irish Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire meanes wrought thereunto, acknowledged King Henry for their Sovereigne Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their owne former priviledges and feignories inviolate.

^a *the head of that sept.*] "Sept" is *family*. So, in Moryson's "Itinerary," fol. 1617, part second, p. 1. "The Oneale, a fatall name to the chiefe of the SEPT or *family*.of the Oneales, &c." TODD.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his foveraignty they also accepted of his lawes. Why then should any other lawes be now used amongst them?

Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his lawes and obedience, and in case it had beene followed upon them, as it should have beene, and a government thereupon settled among them agreeable thereunto, they should have beene reduced to perpetuall civilitie, and contained in continuall duty. But what bootes it to break a colte, and to let him straight runne loose at randome. So were these people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England; but, being straight left unto themselves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they eftsoones forgot what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight by themselves, shook off their bridles, and beganne to colte anew, more licentiously then before.

Eudox. It is a great pittie, that so good an opportunity was omitted, and so happie an occasion fore-slacked,^b that might have beene the eternall good of the land. But doe they not still acknowledge that submission?

Iren. No, they doe not; for now the heires and posterity of them which yeelded the same are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

Eudox. How can they so doe justly? Doth not the act of the parent, in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind their heires for ever thereunto? Sith then the auncestors of those that now live yeelded themselves then subjects and liegemen, shall it not tye their children to the same subjection?

^b *so happie an occasion fore-slacked.*] *Delayed* [*postponed*, or here, *neglected*]. See F. Q. v. xii. 3 [vol. iv. p. 25]. TODD.

Iren. They say no ; for their auncestours had no estate in any their lands, feignories, or hereditaments, longer then during their own lives, as they alledge, for all the Irish doe hold their land by Tanistrie ; which is (say they) no more but a personall estate for his life time, that is, Tanist, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by election of the countrey.

Eudox. What is this which you call Tanist and Tanistry ? They be names and termes never heard of nor knowne to us.

Iren. It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently after the death of any of their chiefe Lords or Captaines, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place, generally appointed and knowne unto them, to choose another in his steed ; where they doe nominate and elect, for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest ; as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kinred or sept, and then next to him doe they choose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Doe they not use any ceremony in this election ? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

Iren. They use to place him that shalbe their Captaine, upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill : in some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, whereon hee standing receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is :

after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himselfe round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the Tanist chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this custome? for it is good to know the same, and may perhaps discover some secret meaning and intent therein, very materiall to the state of that government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their lands in their posteritie, and for excluding all innovation or alienation thereof unto strangers, and specially to the English. For when their Captaine dieth, if the signiorie should descend to his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might peradventure step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his right, or to withstand the force of a forreiner; and therefore they doe appoint the eldest of the kinne to have the signiorie, for that he commonly is a man of stronger yeares, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the countrey, either against the next bordering Lords, which use commonly to incroach one upon another as one is stronger, or against the English, which they thinke lye still in waite to wype them out of their lands and territoryes. And to this end the Tanist is alwayes ready knowne, if it should happen the Captaine suddenly to dye, or to be flaine in battell, or to be out of the countrey, to defend and keepe it from all such doubts and dangers. For which cause the Tanist hath also a share of the countrey allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

Eudox. When I hear this word Tanist, it bringeth to

my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it should signifie a province or feignorie, as Aquitania, Lusitania, and Britania, the which some thinke to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes; but, I think, amisse. But sure it seemeth, that it came anciently from those barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be that from thence the first original of this word Tanist and Tanistry came,^c and the custome thereof hath sithence, as many others else, bene continued. But to that generall subjection of the land, whereof wee formerly spake, me seemes that this custome or tenure can be no barre nor impeachment, seeing that in open Parliament by their said acknowledgement they waved the benefite thereof, and submitted themselves to the benefite of their new Soveraigne.

Iren. Yea, but they say, as I earst tolde you, that they reserved their titles, tenures, and feignories whole and sound to themselves, and for proof alledge, that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them, should (say they) be a great wrong.

Eudox. What remedie is there, then, or meanes to avoide this inconvenience? for, without first cutting of[f] this dangerous custome, it seemeth hard to plant any sound ordinance, or reduce them to a civill government, since all their ill customes are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard; for by this Act of Parliament whereof wee speake, nothing was given to King Henry which he had not before from his auncestors, but onely the bare name of a King; for all other absolute power of principality he had in himselfe before derived

^c *the first original of this word Tanist and Tanistry came.]* See whether it may not be more fitly derived from Thane, which word was commonly used among the Danes, and also among the Saxons in England, for a noble man, and a principal officer. SIR JAMES WARE.

from many former Kings, his famous progenitours and worthy conquerours of that land. The which, sithence they first conquered and by force subdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle termes with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the conqueror to take upon himself what title he will over his dominions conquered. For all is the conquerours, as Tully to Brutus saith. Therefore (me seemes) instead of so great and meritorious a service as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing all the Irish to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the minde of the people who, before being absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with termes, whereas else both their lives, their lands, and their liberties were in his free power to appoint what tenures, what lawes, what conditions hee would over them, which were all his: against which there could be no rightfull resistance, or if there were, he might, when he would, establish them with a stronger hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it seemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable government amongst them, then by such violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby lost any thing that he formerly had; for having all before absolutely in his owne power, it remaineth so still unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received something from them; that is, a more voluntary and loyall subjection. So as her Majesty may yet, when it shall please her, alter any thing of those former ordinances, or appoint other lawes, that may be more both for her own behoofe, and for the good of that people.

Iren. Not so; for it is not so easie, now that things are growne unto an habit and have their certaine course,

to change the channell, and turne their streames another way, for they may have now a colorable pretence to withstand such innovations, having accepted of other lawes and rules already.

Eudox. But you say they do not accept of them, but delight rather to leane to their old customes and Brehon lawes, though they be more unjust and also more inconvenient for the common people, as by your late relation of them I have gathered. As for the lawes of England, they are surely most just and most agreeable both with the government and with the nature of the people. How falls it then, that you seeme to dislike of them as not so meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the Common Law, but also the Statutes and Actes of Parliament, which were specially provided and intended for the onlie benefit thereof?

Iren. I was about to have told you my reason therein, but that yourselfe drew me away with other questions, for I was shewing you by what meanes, and by what fort, the positive lawes were first brought in and established by the Norman Conquerour: which were not by him devised nor applyed to the state of the realme then being, nor as yet might best be, (as should by lawgivers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very lawes of his owne countrey of Normandie. The condition whereof, how farre it differeth from this of England is apparent to every least judgement. But to transferre the same lawes for the governing of the realme of Ireland was much more inconvenient and unmeete; for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more severity, and was also present in person to overlooke the Magistrates, and to overawe these subjects with the terrour of his sword, and countenance of his Majesty. But not so in Ireland, for they were otherwise affected,

and yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes (me seemes) can ill fit with their disposition, or worke that reformation that is wished. For lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right; for then (as I said) in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert justice to extreame injustice. For hee that transferres the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the people of Athens should finde a great absurditie and inconvenience. For those lawes of Lacedemon were devised by Lycurgus, as most proper and best agreeing with that people, whom hee knew to be enclined altogether to warres, and therefore wholly trained them up even from their cradles in armes and military exercises, cleane contrary to the institution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians, laboured by all meanes to temper their warlike courages with sweete delights of learning and sciences, so that asmuch as the one excelled in armes, the other exceeded in knowledge. The like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering, and managing, this stubborne nature of the Irish, to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarisme unto the love of goodnes and civilitie.

Eudox. I cannot see how that may better be then by the discipline of the lawes of England: for the English were, at first, as stoute and warlike a people as ever the Irish, and yet you see are now brought into that civility, that no nation in the world excelleth them in all goodly conversation, and all the studies of knowledge and humanitie.

Iren. What they now be both you and I see very well, but by how many thornie and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civill broiles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazarded oftentimes the whole safety of the kingdome, may easily be

considered: all which they neverthelesse fairely overcame, by reason of the continuall presence of their King; whose onely person is oftentimes in stead of an army, to containe the unrulie people from a thousand evill occasions, which this wretched kingdome, for want thereof, is dayly carried into. The which, whensoever they make head, no lawes, no penalties, can restraine, but that they doe, in the violence of that furie, tread downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes themselves they doe specially rage at, and rend in peeces, as most repugnant to their libertie and naturall freedome, which in their madnes they affect.

Eudox. It is then a very unseasonable time to plead law, when swords are in the hands of the vulgar, or to thinke to retaine them with feare of punishments, when they looke after liberty, and shake off all government.

Iren. Then so it is with Ireland continually, Eudoxus; for the sword was never yet out of their hand, but when they are weary of warres, and brought downe to extreame wretchednesse: then they creepe a little perhaps, and sue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their strength againe. So as it is in vaine to speak of planting lawes, and plotting pollicie, till they be altogether subdued.

Eudox. Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strongbowe, in the time of King Henry the second? was there not a thorough way then made by the sword for the imposing of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with such a mightie hand as you said was used by the Norman Conquerour? What oddes is there then in this case? why should not the same lawes take as good effect in that people as they did here, being in like sort prepared by the sword, and brought under by extreimity? and why should they not continue in as good force and vigour for the containing of the people?

Iren. The case yet is not like, but there appeareth great oddes betweene them; for by the conquest of Henry the second, true it is that the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no enemy was able to hold up head against his power, in which their weaknes hee brought in his lawes, and settled them as now they there remaine, like as William the Conquerour did; so as in thus much they agree, but in the rest, that is the chiefeest, they varie; for to whom did King Henry the second impose those lawes? not to the Irish, for the most part of them fled from his power into deserts and mountaines, leaving the wyde countrey to the conquerour, who in their stead eftsoones placed English men, who possessed all their lands and did quite shut out the Irish, or the most part of them. And to those new inhabitants and colonies he gave his lawes, to wit, the same lawes under which they were borne and bred, the which it was no difficultie to place amongst them, being formerly well inured thereunto; unto whom afterwards there repaired diverse of the poore distressed people of the Irish for succour and reliefe; of whom, such as they thought fit for labour and industriously disposed, as the most part of their baser sort are, they received unto them as their vassals, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the benefit of those lawes, under which themselves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a law unto his owne vassall: thus was not the law of England ever properly applyed unto the Irish nation, as by a purposed plot of government, but as they could insinuate and steale themselves under the same by their humble carriage and submission.

Eudox. How comes it then to passe, that having beene once so low brought, and thoroughly subjected, they afterwards lifted up themselves so strongly againe, and sithence doe stand so stiffely against all rule and government?

Iren. They say that they continued in that lowlineſſe, until the time that the diviſion between the two houſes of Lancaſter and York aroſe for the crowne of England: at which time all the great Engliſh Lords and Gentlemen, which had great poſſeſſions in Ireland, repaired over hither into England, ſome to ſuccour their friends here, and to ſtrengthen their partie for to obtain the crowne; others to defend their lands and poſſeſſions here againſt ſuch as hovered after the ſame upon hope of the alteration of the kingdome, and ſucceſſe of that ſide which they favoured and affected. Then the Iriſh, whom before they had baniſhed into the mountaines, where they lived onely upon white meates, as it is recorded, ſeeing now their lands ſo diſpeopled, and weakened, came downe into all the plaines adjoyning, and thence expelling thoſe few Engliſh that remained, repoſſeſſed them againe; ſince which they have remained in them, and, growing greater, have brought under them many of the Engliſh, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occaſions by which all thoſe countreyes which, lying neere unto any mountaines or Iriſh defarts, had beene planted with Engliſh, were ſhortly diſplanted and loſt. As namely in Mounſter all the lands adjoyning unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the bog of Allon. In Connaght all the Countries bordering upon the Curlues, Mointerolis, and Orourkes countrey. In Leinſter all the lands bordering unto the mountaines of Glanmalour, unto Shillelah, unto the Brackenah, and Polmonte. In Ulſter, all the countreyes near unto Tirconnel, Tyrone, and the Scottes.

Eudox. Surely this was a great violence; but yet by your ſpeech it ſeemeth that onely the countreyes and valleyes neere adjoyning unto thoſe mountaines and defarts, were thus recovered by the Iriſh: but how comes it now that we ſee almoſt all that realme repoſſeſſed of them? Was there any more ſuch evill occaſions growing

by the troubles of England? Or did the Irish, out of those places so by them gotten, break further and stretch themselves out thorough the whole land? for now, for ought that I can understand, there is no part but the bare English Pale in which the Irish have not the greatest footing.

Iren. Both out of these small beginnings by them gotten neare to the mountaines, did they spread themselves into the inland; and also, to their further advantage, there did other like unhappy accidents happen out of England, which gave heart and good opportunity to them to regain their old possessions. For, in the raigne of King Edward the fourth, things remained yet in the same state that they were after the late breaking out of the Irish, which I spake of; and that noble Prince began to cast an eye unto Ireland, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amisse: for he sent over his brother the worthy Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster,^d and by her having all the Earledome of Ulster, and much in Meath and in Mounster, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late evils; and though he could not beate out the Irish againe, by reason of his short continuance, yet hee did shut them up within those narrow corners and glennes under the mountaines foote, in which they

^d *Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, &c.,]* It was not George Duke of Clarence here spoken of by the author, but Lionell Duke of Clarence,* third sonne of King Edw. the 3rd, who married the earle of Ulster's daughter, and by her had the earledome of Ulster; and although Edw. the 4th made his brother the duke of Clarence, Lo. Lieutenant of Ireland, yet the place was still executed by his Deputyes (which were at severall times) Thomas earle of Desmond, John Earle of Worcester, Tho. Earle of Kildare, and William Shirwood Bishop of Meth, the Duke himselfe never comming into Ireland to governe there in person. SIR JAMES WARE.

* De hac re, vide Camd. Britan. p. 336. et Annal. Hib. ab eo edit. ad an. 1361.

lurked, and so kept them from breaking any further, by building strong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all passages. Amongst the which hee repaired the castle of Clare in Thomond, of which countrey he had the inheritance, and of Mortimers lands adjoyning, which is now (by the Irish) called Killaloe. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome did lett the thorough reformation of all things. And thereunto soone after was added another fatal mischiefe, which wrought a greater calamity than all the former. For the said Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was by practise of evill persons about the King, his brother, called thence away; and soone after by sinister meanes was cleane made away. Presently after whose death all the North revolting did set up Oneale for their Captaine, being before that of small power and regard: and there arose in that part of Thomond, one of the O-Briens, called Murrough en-Ranagh, that is, Morrice of the Ferne, or wast wilde places, who, gathering unto him all the reliques of the discontented Irish, eftsoones surprised the said castle of Clare, burnt, and spoyled all the English there dwelling, and in short space possessed all that countrey beyond the river of Shanan and neere adjoyning: whence shortly breaking forth, like a suddaine tempest, he over-ran all Mounster and Connaght; breaking downe all the holds and fortresses of the English, defacing and utterly subverting all corporate townes that were not strongly walled: for those he had no meanes nor engines to overthrow, neither indeed would hee stay at all about them, but speedily ran forward, counting his suddenesse his most advantage, that he might overtake the English before they could fortifie or gather themselves together. So in short space hee cleane wyped out many great townes, as first Inchequin, then Killalow, before called Clariford, also Thurles, Mourne, Buttevant, and many others,

whose names I cannot remember, and of some of which there is now no memory nor signe remaining. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the scumme of the Irish out of all places, that ere long he had a mighty army, and thence marched foorth into Leinster, where he wrought great out-rages, waisting all the countrey where he went; for it was his policie to leave no hold behinde him, but to make all plaine and waste. In which he soone after created himselfe King, and was called King of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade that any did so generally, but onely Edward le Bruce.

Eudox. What! was there ever any generall King of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwayes (whilst it was under the Irish) divided into foure, and sometimes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this Edward le Bruce, what was hee, that could make himselfe King of all Ireland?

Iren. I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfitnessse which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land.

Eudox. No surely, I have no cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for sithence you did set your course (as I remember in your first part) to treat of the evils which hindered the peace and good ordering of that land, amongst which that of the inconvenience in the lawes was the first which you had in hand, this discourse of the over-running and waisting of the realm is very materiall thereunto, for that it was the begining of al the other evils, which sithence have afflicted that land, and opened a way unto the Irish to recover their possession, and to beat out the English which had formerly wonne the same. And besides, it will give a great light both unto the second and third part, which is the redressing of those evils, and planting of some good forme or policy therin,

by renewing the remembrance of these occasions and accidents by which those ruines hapned, and laying before us the enfamples of those times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by those which shall have to doe in the like. Therefore, I pray you, tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you backe againe thereunto.

Iren. This Edw. le Bruce was brother of Robert le Bruce, who was King of Scotland at such time as King Edward the second raigned here in England, and bare a most malicious and spightfull minde against King Edward, doing him all the scathe that hee could, and annoying his territoryes of England, whilest he was troubled with civill warres of his Barons at home. Hee also, to worke him the more mischiefe, sent over his said brother Edward with a power of Scottes and Red-shankes into Ireland, where, by the meanes of the Lacies and of the Irish with whom they combined, they gave footing, and gathering unto him all the scatterlings and out-lawes out of all the woods and mountaines, in which they long had lurked, marched forth into the English Pale, which then was chiefly in the North, from the point of Donluce, and beyond unto Dublin; having in the midst of her Knockfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford, which are now the most out-bounds and abandoned places in the English Pale, and indeede not counted of the English Pale at all, for it stretcheth now no further than Dundalke towards the North. There the said Edward le Bruce spoyled and burnt all the olde English Pale inhabitants, and sacked and rased all citties and corporate townes no lesse then Murrough en Ranagh, of whom I earst told you: for hee wasted Belfast, Green-Castle, Kelles, Bellturbur, Castletowne, Newton, and many other very good townes and strong holdes: he rooted out the noble families of the Audlies, Talbotts, Tuchets, Cham-

berlaines, Maundevills, and the Savages out of Ardes, though of the Lo. Savage there remaineth yet an heire, that is now a poore gentleman of very meane condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes. And coming lastly to Dundalke, hee there made himselfe King, and raigned the space of one whole yeare, untill that Edward King of England, having set some quiet in his affaires at home, sent over the Lord John Birmingham to be Generall of the warres against him, who, incountring him neere to Dundalke, over-threw his army, and slew him. Also hee presently followed the victory so hotly upon the Scottes, that hee suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together againe, untill they came to the sea-coast. Notwithstanding, all the way that they fledde, for very rancor and despight, in their returne they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoyled, so as of all townes, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any sticke standing, nor any people remaying; for those few, which yet survived, fledde from their fury further into the English Pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweet countrey as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish, most abundantly sprinkled with many very sweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the world had them, they would soone hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world: also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that countrey can afford, besides the soyle it selfe most fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that shall be committed there-

unto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist then the parts towards the West.

Eudox. Truly Iren., what with your praises of the countrey, and what with your discourse of the lamentable desolation thereof made by those Scottes, you have filled mee with a great compassion of their calamities, that I doe much pity that sweet land, to be subject to so many evils as I see more and more to be layde upon her, and doe halfe beginne to thinke, that it is (as you said at the beginning) her fatall misfortune, above all other countreyes that I know, to bee thus miserably tossed and turmoyled with these variable stormes of affliction. But since wee are thus far entred into the consideration of her mishaps, tell mee, have there beene any more such tempests, as you term them, wherein she hath thus wretchedly beene wracked?

Iren. Many more, God wot, have there beene, in which principall parts have beene rent and torne asunder, but none (as I can remember) so universall as this. And yet the rebellion of Thomas Fitz Garret did well-nye stretch itself into all parts of Ireland. But that, which was in the time of the government of the Lord Grey, was surely no lesse generall then all those; for there was no part free from the contagion, but all conspired in one to cast off their subjection to the crowne of England. Nevertheless, thorough the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the head which the former evils found; for in them the realme was left, like a ship in a storm, amidst all the raging furies, unrul'd, and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed either fainted in their labour, or forsooke their charge. But hee (like a most wise pilote) kept her course carefully, and held her most strongly even against those roaring billowes, that he safely brought her out of

all ; so as long after, even by the space of 12 or 13 whole yeares, she roade at peace, thorough his onely paines and excellent indurance, how ever Envy list to blatter against him.^e But of this wee shall have more occasion to speak in another place : now (if you please) let us returne againe unto our first course.

Eudox. Truly I am very glad to heare your judgement of the government of that honourable man so soundly ; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his doings depraved of some, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious minde, or private grievance, seeke to detract from the honour of his deeds and counsels, then of any just cause : but he was neverthelesse, in the judgements of all good and wise men, defended and maintained. And now that he is dead, his immortall fame surviveth, and flourisheth in the mouthes of all people, that even those which did backbite him, are checked with their owne venome, and breake their galls to heare his so honourable report. But let him rest in peace ; and turne we to our more troublesome matters of discourse, of which I am right sorry that you make so short an end, and covet to passe over to your former purposes ; for there be many other parts of Ireland, which I have heard have bin no lesse vexed with the like stormes, then these which you have treated of, as the countreyes of the Birnes and Toolles near Dublin, with the insolent out-rages and spoyles of Feagh mac Hugh, the countreyes of Catherlagh, Wexford, and Waterford, by the Cavenaghues. The countreyes of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare by the O Moores. The countreyes of Ofaly and Longford by the Connors. The countreyes of Westmeath, Cavan, and Lowth by the O Relyes, the Kellyes, and many

^e *how ever Envy list to blatter against him.*] To blatter is to rail or rage. TODD. Fourteen lines below, ought we not to read *choked* for "checked?"—"choked with their owne venome." C.

others, so as the discoursing of them, besides the pleasure which would redound out of their history, be also very profitable for matters of policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more besides, often times have I right well knowne, and yet often doe kindle great fires of tumultuous broyles in the countreyes bordering upon them. All which to rehearse should rather bee to chronicle times, then to search into reformation of abuses in that realme; and yet very needfull it will bee to consider them, and the evils which they have often stirred up, that some redresse thereof, and prevention of the evils to come, may thereby rather be devised. But I suppose wee shall have a fitter opportunity for the same, when wee shall speake of the particular abuses and enormities of the government, which will be next after these generall defects and inconveniences which I said were in the lawes, customes, and religion.

Eudox. Goe to them a Gods name, and follow the course which you have promised to your selfe, for it fitteth best, I must confesse, with the purpose of our discourse. Declare your opinion, as you began, about the lawes of the realme, what incommoditie you have conceived to bee in them, chiefly in the Common Law, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I saide before) of itselfe most rightfull and very convenient (I suppose) for the kingdome for which it was first devised; for this (I thinke) as it seemes reasonable, that out of your manners of your people, and abuses of your countrey, for which they were invented, they take their first beginning, or else they should bee most unjust; for no lawes of man (according to the straight rule of right) are just, but as in regard of the evils which they prevent, and the safety of the common-weale which they provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of justice, it is a flat

wrong to punish the thought or purpose of any before it bee enacted; for true justice punisheth nothing but the evill act or wicked word, that by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall crime to devise or purpose the death of your King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effected, it should then bee too late to devise thereof, and should turne the common-wealth to more losse by the death of their Prince, then such punishment of the malefactors. And therefore the law in that case punisheth the thought; for better is a mischiefe, then an inconvenience. So that *jus politicum*, though it bee not of it selfe just, yet by application, or rather necessity, it is made just; and this onely respect maketh all lawes just. Now then, if these lawes of Ireland bee not likewise applyed and fitted for that realme, they are sure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reason strongly: but what unfitnesse doe you finde in them for that realme? shew us some particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth that all tryalls, as well of crimes as titles and rights, shall bee made by verdict of a jury, chosen out of the honest and most substantiall free-holders. Now, most of the free-holders of that realme are Irish, which when the cause shall fall betwixt an Englishman and an Irish, or betweene the Queene and any free-holder of that countrey, they make no more scruple to passe against an Englishman, and the Queene, though it bee to strayn their oathes, then to drinke milke unstrayned. So that, before the jury goe together, it is all to nothing what the verdict shall be. The tryall have I so often seene, that I dare confidently avouch the abuse thereof. Yet is the law, of it selfe, (as I said) good; and the first institution thereof being given to all Englishmen very rightfully, but now that the Irish have stepped into the very roomes of our English, wee are now to become heedfull and provident in juryes.

Eudox. In sooth, Iren. you have discovered a point worthy the consideration; for heereby not onely the English subject findeth no indifferencie in deciding of his cause, bee it never so just; but the Queene, aswell in all pleas of the crowne, as also in inquiries for escheates, lands attainted, wardshipps, concealments, and all such like, is abused and exceedingly damaged.

Iren. You say very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted lands, concealed from her Majestie, then shee hath now possessions in all Ireland: and it is no small inconvenience; for, besides that shee looseth so much land as should turne to her great profite, shee besides looseth so many good subjects, which might bee assured unto her, as those landes would yeeld inhabitants and living unto.

Eudox. But doth many of that people (say you) make no more conscience to perjure themselves in their verdicts, and damne their soules?

Iren. Not onely so in their verdicts, but also in all other their dealings; especially with the English, they are most willfully bent: forthough they will not seeme manifestly to doe it, yet will some one or other subtle-headed fellow amongst them put some quirke, or devise some evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent matter that may bee, the least question or doubt that may bee mooved will make a stoppe unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides that, of themselves (for the most part) they are so cautelous^f and wylie-headed, especially being men of so small experience and practice in law matters,

^f *they are so cautelous.*] *Cautious.* See the Gloss. Urry's Chaucer, in V. *Cautele.* TODD. The word occurs more than once in Shakespeare. and is found in nearly all the writers of his day. C.

that you would wonder whence they borrow such subtilties and flye shifts.

Eudox. But, mee thinkes, this inconvenience might bee much helped in the Judges and Chiefe Magistrates which have the choosng and nominating of those jurors, if they would have dared to appoint either most Englishmen, and such Irishmen as were of the soundest judgment and disposition; for no doubt but some there bee incorruptible.

Iren. Somewhere bee indeede as you say; but then would the Irish partie crye out of partialitie, and complaine hee hath no justice, hee is not used as a subject, hee is not suffered to have the free benefite of the law; and these outcries the Magistrates there doe much shunne, as they have cause, since they are readily hearkened unto heere: neither can it bee indeede, although the Irish party would bee so contented to be so compassed, that such English freehoulders, which are but few, and such faithful Irishmen, which are indeede as few, shall alwayes bee chosen for tryalls; for being so few, they should bee made weary of their free-houldes. And therefore a good care is to bee had by all good occasions to encrease their number, and to plant more by them. But were it so, that the jurors could bee picked out of such choyce men as you desire, this would neverthelesse bee as bad a corruption in the tryall; for the evidence being brought in by the baser Irish people, will bee as deceitfull as the verdict; for they care much lesse then the others what they sweare, and sure their Lordes may compell them to say any thing; for I myselfe have heard, when one of the baser sort (which they call churles) being challenged, and reprooved for his false oath, hath answered confidently, That his Lord commaunded him, and it was the least thing that hee could doe for his Lord to sweare for him; so incon-

scionable are these common people, and so little feeling have they of God, or their owne soules good.

Eudox. It is a most miserable case, but what helpe can there bee in this? for though the manner of the trialls should bee altered, yet the prooffe of every thing must needes bee by the testimony of such persons as the parties shall produce; which if they shall bee corrupt, how can there ever any light of the truth appeare? what remedy is there for this evill, but to make heavy lawes and penalties against jurors?

Iren. I thinke fure that will doe small good; for when a people be inclined to any vice, or have no touch of conscience, nor sence of their evill doings, it is bootelesse to thinke to restraine them by any penalties or feare of punishment; but either the occasion is to be taken away, or a more understanding of the right, and shame of the fault to be imprinted. For if that Licurgus should have made it death for the Lacedemonians to steale, they being a people which naturally delighted in stealth; or if it should bee made a capitall crime for the Flemmings to be taken in drunkenesse, there should have beene few Lacedemonians then left, and few Flemmings now. So unpossible it is to remove any fault, so generall in a people, with terrour of lawes or most sharpe restraints.

Eudox. What meanes may there be then to avoyde this inconvenience? for the case seemes very hard.

Iren. We are not yet come to the point to devise remedies for the evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this sort in the Common Law?

Iren. By rehearfall of this, I remember also of an other like, which I have often observed in trialls to have wrought great hurt and hinderance, and that is, the ex-

ceptions which the Common Law alloweth a felon in his tryall; for he may have (as you know) fifty-fix exceptions peremptory against the jurors, of which he shal shew no cause. By which shift there being (as I have shewed you) so small store of honest jury-men, he will either put off his tryall, or drive it to such men as (perhaps) are not of the soundest fort, by whose meanes, if he can acquite himselfe of the crime, as he is likely, then will he plague such as were brought first to bee of his jurie, and all such as made any party against him. And when he comes forth, he will make their cowes and garrons^g to walke, if he doe not other harme to their persons.

Eudox. This is a flye devise, but I thinke might soone bee remedied; but we must leave it a while to the rest. In the meane-while doe you goe forwards with others.

Iren. There is an other no lesse inconvenience then this, which is the tryall of accessaries to felony; for, by the Common Law, the accessaries cannot be proceeded against, till the principall have received his tryall. Now to the case, how it often falleth out in Ireland, that a stealth being made by a rebel, or an outlawe, the stolne goods are conveyed to some husbandman or gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth most by the receipt of such stealthes, where they are found by the owner, and handled: whereupon the partie is perhaps apprehended and committed to goal, or put upon sureties, till the sessions, at which time the owner, preferring a bill of indictment, proveth sufficiently the stealth to have beene committed upon him by such an outlaw, and to have beene found in the possession of the prisoner,

^g *cowes and garrons.*] “Garran” is an Erse word; still retained in Scotland, says Dr. Johnson. It means a *strong* or *hackney horse*. See Shaw’s Gaelic Dictionary. Todd. The etymology seems to be Ger. *Gorr, equus*. Richardson shows that the word “garran” was also used by Whitelock and by Sir William Temple, but in both authors with reference to Ireland. C.

against whom, neverthelesse, no course of law can proceede, nor tryall can be had, for that the principall theife is not to be gotten, notwithstanding that he likewise, standing perhaps indicted at once with the receiver, being in rebellion, or in the woods; where peradventure he is flaine before he can be gotten, and so the receiver cleane acquitted and discharged of the crime. By which meanes the theeves are greatly incouraged to steale, and their maintainers imboldened to receive their stealthes, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any tryall of law.

Eudox. Truly this is a great inconvenience, and a great cause (as you say) of the maintenance of theeves, knowing their receivers alwayes ready; for, were there no receivers, there would be no theeves: but this (me seemes) might easily be provided for by some Act of Parliament, that the receiver, being convicted by good proofes, might receive his tryall without the principall.

Iren. You say very true, Eudox., but that is almost impossible to be compassed. And herein also you discover another imperfection in the course of the Common Law, and first ordinance of the realme; for you know that the said Parliament must consist of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgessees of that realme it selfe. Now these being perhaps themselves, or the most part of them (as may seeme by their stiffe with-standing of this Act) culpable of this crime, or favourers of their friends, which are such by whom their kitchins are sometimes amended, will not suffer any such Statute to passe. Yet hath it oftentimes beene attempted, and in the time of Sir John Parrot very earnestly (I remember) laboured, but could by no meanes be effected. And not onely this, but many other like, which are as needefull for the reformation of that realme.

Eudox. This also is surely a great defect, but wee may not talke (you say) of the redressing of this, untill our

second part come, which is purposely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more such evils, if at least, you have any more.

Iren. There is also a great inconvenience which hath wrought great damage both to her Majesty, and to that common wealth, thorough close and colourable conveyances of the lands and goods of traytors, fellows, and fugitives. As, when one of them mindeth to goe into rebellion, hee will convey away all his lands and lordships to feoffees in trust, wherby he reserveth to himselfe but a state for terme of life, which being determined either by the sword or by the halter, their lands straight commeth to the heire, and the Queen is defrauded of the intent of the law, which laide that grievous punishment upon traytors to forfeite all their lands to the Prince, to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing treasons; for many which would little esteeme of their owne lives, yet for remorse of their wives and children would bee withheld from that haynous crime. This appeared plainely in the late Earle of Desmond; for, before his breaking forth into open rebellion, hee had conveyed secretly all his lands to feoffees of trust, in hope to have cut off her Majestie from the escheate of his lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided; for the Act of Parliament which gave all his lands to the Queene did (as I have heard) cut off and frustrate all such conveyances, as had at any time, by the space of twelve yeares before his rebellion, beene made; within the compasse whereof, the fraudulent feoffement, and many the like of others his accomplices and fellow-traytors, were contained.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witnesse; and were it to be passed againe, I dare undertake it would

never be compassed. But were it also that such Acts might be easily brought to passe against traytors and fellows, yet were it not an endlesse trouble, that no traytour or fellow should be attainted, but a Parliament must be called for bringing of his lands to the Queene, which the Common-Law giveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no fault of the Common Law, but of the persons which worke this fraud to her Majestie.

Iren. Yes, marry; for the Common-Law hath left them this benefite, whereof they make advantage, and wrest it to their bad purposes. So as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evill actions, knowing that, if the worst befall them, they shall lose nothing but themselves, whereof they seeme surely very carelesse.

Eudox. But what meant you of fugitives herein? Or how doth this concerne them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly; for you shall understand that there bee many ill disposed and undutifull persons of that realme, like as in this point there are also in this realme of England too many, which being men of good inheritance, are for dislike of religion, or danger of the law into which they are run, or discontent of the present government, fled beyond the seas, where they live under Princes, which are her Majesties professed enemies, and converse and are confederat with other traitors and fugitives which are there abiding. The which neverthelesse have the benefits and profits of their lands here, by pretence of such colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privie friends heere in trust, who privily doe send over unto them the said revenues, wherewith they are there maintained and enabled against her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there be any such fugitives which are relieved by the profite of their lands in

England, for there is a straighter order taken. And if there bee any such in Ireland, it were good it were likewise looked unto, for this evill may easily be remedied. But proceede.

Iren. It is also inconvenient in the realme of Ireland, that the wards and marriages of gentlemens children should be in the disposition of any of those Irish Lords, as now they are, by reason that their lands bee held by knights service of those Lords. By which means it comes to passe that those gentlemen, being thus in the ward of those Lords, are not onely thereby brought up lewdly, and Irish-like, but also for ever after so bound to their services, they will runne with them into any disloyall action.

Eudox. This grievance, *Iren.* is also complained of in England, but how can it be remedied? since the service must follow the tenure of the lands, and the lands were given away by the Kings of England to those Lords, when they first conquered that realme; and, to say troth, this also would be some prejudice to the Prince in her wardshipps.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes wards, but by such as fall into the hands of Irish Lords; for I could wish, and this I could enforce, that all those wardships were in the Princes disposition; for then it might be hoped, that she, for the universall reformation of that realme, would take better order for bringing up those wards in good nurture, and not suffer them to come into so bad hands. And although these things be already passed away, by her progenitours former grants, unto those said Lords; yet I could finde a way to remedie a great part thereof, as hereafter, when fit time serves, shall appeare. And since we are entred into speech of such grants of former Princes, to sundry persons of this realme of Ireland, I will mention unto you some other,

of like nature to this, and of like inconvenience, by which the former Kings of England passed unto them a great part of their prerogatives; which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deserved of them which received the same, yet now such a gapp of mischeife lyes open thereby, that I could wish it were well stopped. Of this sort are the graunts of Counties Palatines in Ireland, which though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wild Irish, subject to continuall invasion, so as it was needfull to give them great priviledges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof; yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontired with enemies, why should such priviledges bee any more continued?

Eudox. I would gladly know what you call a County Palatine, and whence it is so called.

Iren. It was (I suppose) first named Palatine of a pale, as it were a pale and defense to their inward lands, so as it is called the English Pale, and therefore is a Palsgrave named an Earle Palatine. Others thinke of the Latine, *palare*, that is, to forage or out-run, because those marchers and borderers use commonly so to doe. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to spoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And surely so it is used at this day, as a priviledged place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Tipperary, which is now the onely Countie Palatine in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by meanes of whose priviledges none will follow their stealthes, so as it, being situate in the very lap of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the Lord of the liberty, do paine himselfe all he may to yeeld equall

justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in so inward and absolute a priviledge, the consideration whereof is to be respected carefully, for the next succession. And much like unto this graunt there are other priviledges granted unto most of the corporations there; that they shal not be bound to any other government then their owne, that they shall not be charged with garrisons, that they shall not be travailed forth of their owne franchises, that they may buy and sell with theeves and rebels, that all amercements and fines that shal be imposed upon them shall come unto themselves. All which, though at the time of their first graunt they were tollerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient; but all these will easily be cut off with the superiour power of her Majesties prerogative, against which her own graunts are not to be pleaded or enforced.

Eudox. Now truely, Irenæus, you have (me seemes) very well handled this point, touching inconveniences in the Common Law there, by you observed; and it seemeth that you have had a mindefull regard unto the things that may concerne the good of that realme. And if you can aswell goe thorough with the Statute Lawes of that land, I will thinke you have not lost all your time there. Therefore, I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us what you thinke to bee amisse in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that realme are not many, and therefore we shall the sooner runne thorough them. And yet of those few there are impertinent and unnecessary: the which though perhaps at the time of the making of them were very needfull, yet now thorough change of time are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any to weare their beards all on the upper lippe, and none under the chinne. And that which putteth away saffron shirts and smockes. And

that which restraineth the use of guilt bridles and petronels.^h And that which is appointed for the recorders and clerks of Dublin and Tredagh, to take but ijd. for the copy of a plainte. And that which commaunds bowes and arrowes. And that which makes that all Irishmen which shall converse among the English shall be taken for spyes, and so punished. And that which forbids persons amesnable to law to enter and distraine in the lands in which they have title; and many other the like I could rehearse.

Eudox. These, truly, which yee have repeated, seeme very frivolous and fruitelesse; for by the breach of them little damage or inconvenience can come to the Common-wealth: Neither, indeed, if any transgresse them, shall he seeme worthy of punishment, scarce of blame, saving but for that they abide by that name of lawes. But lawes ought to be such, as that the keeping of them should be greatly for the behoofe of the Common-weale, and the violating of them should be very haynous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weighty dislikes in the Statutes then these, and that may more behooffully import the reformation of them.

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull distraining of any mans goods against the forme of Common Law to be felony. The which Statutes seeme surely to have beene at first meant for the good of that realme, and for restrayning of a foule abuse, which then rained commonly amongst that people, and yet is not altogether laide aside; that when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his debt, and, if he were not payed, hee would straight goe and

^h *petronels.*] See Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. "*Petrinal*, a horseman's peece, a *petronell*." Hence the soldier, who served with a *petronell*, was called *poitrinalier*. It appears to have been much the same as our *blunderbuss*. See the Fr. *Encyclopédie* in V. TODD.

take a distresse of his goods or cattell, where he could finde them, to the value; which he would keepe till he were satisfied, and this the simple churle (as they call him) doth commonly use to doe yet thorough ignorance of his misdoing, or evill use that hath long settled amongst them. But this, though it bee sure most unlawfull, yet surely (me seemes) too hard to make it death, since there is no purpose in the party to steale the others goods, or to conceale the distresse, but doth it openly, for the most part before witnesses. And againe, the same Statutes are so slackely penned (besides the later of them is so unsensibly contrived that it scarce carryeth any reason in it) that they are often and very easily wrested to the fraude of the subject; as if one going to distrayne upon his own land or tenement, where lawfully he may, yet if in doing thereof he transgresse the least point of the Common Law, hee straight committeth felony. Or if one by any other occasion take any thing from another, as boyes use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight felony. This [is] a very hard law.

Eudox. Nevertheles that evill use of distrayning of another mans goods, yee will not deny but it is to be abolished and taken away.

Iren. It is so, but not by taking away the subject withall; for that is too violent a medecine, especially this use being permitted, and made lawfull to some, and to other some death. As to most of the corporate townes there it is graunted by their charter, that they may, every man by himselfe, without an officer (for that were more tolerable) for any debt, to distraine the goods of any Irish, being found within their liberty, or but passing thorough their townes. And the first permission of this was for that in those times when that graunt was made, the Irish were not amefnable to law, so as it was not safety for the townes-man to goe to him forth to de-

maund his debt, nor possible to draw him into law, so that he had leave to bee his owne bayliffe, to arrest his said debtors goods within his owne franchise. The which the Irish seeing, thought it as lawfull for them to diftrayne the townes-mans goods in the countrey where they found it. And so, by ensample of that graunt to townesmen, they thought it lawfull, and made it a use to diftrayne on anothers goods for small debts. And to say truth, mee thinkes it is hard for every trifling debt, of two or three shil[lings] to be driven to law, which is so farre from them sometimes to be sought; for which me thinketh it too heavy an ordinance to give death, especially to a rude man that is ignorant of law, and thinketh, that a common use or graunt to other men is a law for himselfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the judge, when it commeth before him to triall, may easily decide this doubt, and lay open the intent of the law by his better discretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the sence of the law unto the reason or will of the judge[s], who are men and may bee miscaried by affections, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to bee like stony tables, plaine, stedfast, and unmoveable. There is also such another Statute or two, which make Coigny and Livery to bee treason, no lesse inconvenient then the former, being, as it is penned, how ever the first purpose thereof were expedient; for thereby now no man can goe into another mans house for lodging, nor to his owne tennants house to take victuall by the way, notwithstanding that there is no other meanes for him to have lodging, nor horse meate, nor mans meate, there being no innes, nor none otherwise to bee bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his tennant, or that his said hoste list to complaine of greivance, as often-

times I have seene them very malitiously doe thorough the least provocation.

Eudox. I doe not well know, but by ghesse, what you doe meane by these termes of Coigny and Livery: therefore I pray you explaine them.

Iren. I know not whether the words bee English or Irish, but I suppose them to bee rather auncient English, for the Irishmen can make no derivation of them. What Livery is, wee by common use in England know well enough, namely, that it is allowance of horse-meate, as they commonly use the word in stabling, as to keepe horses at livery; the which word, I guesse, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly foode. So in great houses, the livery is said to be served up for all night, that is their evenings allowance for drinke. And Livery is also called the upper weede which a serving man weareth, so called (as I suppose) for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleasure: so it is apparent, that by the word Livery is there meant horse-meate, like as by the word Coigny is understood mans meate; but whence the word is derived is hard to tell: some say of coine, for that they used commonly in their Coignies, not onely to take meate, but coine also; and that taking of money was speciallie meant to be prohibited by that Statute: but I thinke rather this word Coigny is derived of the Irish. The which is a common use amongst land-lords of the Irish, to have a common spending upon their tennants; for all their tennants, being commonly but tennants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list, for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning: neither in this was the tennant wronged, for it was an ordinary and knowne custome, and his Lord commonly used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tennant disliked, hee might freely depart at his pleasure. But now by this Statute the said Irish Lord

is wronged, for that hee is cut off from his customary services, of the which this was one, besides many other of the like, as Cuddy, Cofhery, Bonneght, Shrah, Sorehin, and such others; the which (I thinke) were customes at first brought in by the English upon the Irish, for they were never wont, and yet are loth to yeeld any certaine rent, but only such spendings: for their common saying is, "Spend me and defend me."

Eudox. Surely I take it as you say, that therein the Irish Lord hath wrong, since it was an auncient custome, and nothing contrary to law, for to the willing there is no wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even heere in England, there are in many places as large customes as that of Coignie and Livery. But I suppose by your speach, that it was the first meaning of the Statute to forbid the violent taking of victuals upon other mens tenants against their wills, which surely is a great outrage, and yet not so great (me seemes) as that it should be made treason: for considering that the nature of treason is concerning the royall estate or person of the Prince, or practizing with his enemies, to the derogation and danger of his crowne and dignitie, it is hardly wrested to make this treason. But (as you earst said) "better a mischiefe then an inconvenience."

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient Irish custome is now upon advisement made a law, and that is called the Custome of Kin-cogish, which is, that every head of every sept, and every chiefe of every kindred or family, should be answerable and bound to bring foorth every one of that sept and kindred under it at all times to be justified, when he should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime.

Eudox. Why, surely this seemes a very necessary law. For considering that many of them bee such losells and

scatterlings, as that they cannot easily by any sheriffe, constable, bayliffe, or other ordinary officer bee gotten, when they are challenged for any such fact; this is a very good meanes to get them to bee brought in by him, that is the head of that sept, or chiefe of that house: wherefore I wonder what just exception you can make against the same.

Iren. Truly, Eudoxus, in the pretence of the good of this Statute you have nothing errèd, for it seemeth very expedient and necessary; but the hurt which commeth thereby is greater then the good. For, whilest every chiefe of a sept standeth so bound to the law for every man of his blood or sept that is under him, he is made great by the commaunding of them all. For if hee may not commaund them, then that law doth wrong that bindeth him to bring them forth to bee justified: and if hee may commaund them, then hee may commaund them aswell to ill as to good. Hereby the lords and captaines of countreyes, the principall and heades of septs, are made stronger, whom it should bee a most speciall care in policie to weaken, and to set up and strengthen diverse of his underlings against him, which, whensoever hee shall swarve from duty, may bee able to beard him; for it is very dangerous to leave the commaund of so many as some septs are, being five or fixe thousand persons, to the will of one man, who may leade them to what he will, as he himselfe shall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deede, *Iren.*, it is very dangerous, seeing the disposition of those people is not alwayes inclineable to the best. And therefore I holde it no wisedome to leave unto them too much commaund over their kindred, but rather to withdrawe their followers from them asmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of law by some better meane then this custom of Kin-cogish. The which word I would bee glad to know what it namely

signifieth, for the meaning thereof I seeme to understand reasonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of English and Irish together, so as I am partly ledde to thinke, that the custome thereof was first English, and afterwarde made Irish; for such an other law they had heere in England, as I remember, made by King Alured, that every gentleman should bring forth his kinred and followers to the law. So Kin is English, and Cogish affinitie in Irish.ⁱ

Eudox. Sith then wee that have thus reasonably handled the inconveniences in the lawes, let us now passe unto the second part, which was, I remember, of the abuses of customes; in which, mee seemes, you have a faire champion layde open unto you, in which you may at large stretch out your discourse into many sweete remembrances of antiquities, from whence it seemeth that the customes of that nation proceeded.

Iren. Indeede, Eudox., you say very true; for all the customes of the Irish, which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would minister occasion of a most ample discourse of the originall of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I thinke to be more auncient then most that I know in this end of the world; so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement and plentiful reading it would be most pleasant and profitable. But it may be wee may, at some other time of meeting, take occasion to treat thereof more at large. Heere onely it shall suffice to touch such customes of the Irish as seeme offensive, and repugnant to the good government of the realme.

Eudox. Follow then your owne course, for I shall the

ⁱ *Kin is English, and Cogish affinitie in Irish.*] I conceive the word to be rather altogether Irish; Kin signifying, in Irish, the head or chiefe of any sept. SIR JAMES WARE.

better content my felfe to forbear my defire now, in hope that you will, as you fay, fome other time more abundantly fatisfie it.

Iren. Before we enter into the treatie of their cuftomes, it is firft needfull to confider from whence they firft fprung; for from the fundry manners of the nations, from whence that people which now is called Irish were derived, fome of the cuftomes which now remain amongft them have been firft fetcht, and fithence there continued amongft them; for not of one nation was it peopled as it is, but of fundry people of different conditions and manners. But the chiefest which have firft poffeffed, and inhabited it, I fuppofe to bee Scythians.^k

Eudox. How commeth it then to paffe, that the Irish doe derive themselves from Gathelus the Spaniard?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any fuch notable tranfmiffion of a colony hether out of Spaine, or any fuch famous conquelt of this kingdome by Gathelus, a Spaniard, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in fo high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted fo memorable a thing, as the fubduing of fo

^k *I fuppofe to bee Scythians.*] This difcourfe, from the word “Scythians,” unto the words in p. 338, “of whom I earft fpoke,” is directed by Sir J. Ware wholly to be croffed out, as being then agreeable to the beft MS. copy; which paffage is alfo omitted in the Manuscript of this View belonging to the Marquis of Stafford: in which likewife is added after “to bee Scythians” the word *which*, thus connecting the words “at fuch time as, &c.” in p. 338. TODD. Touching the Scythians* or Scotts arrivall in Ireland, fee Nennius an ancient Britifh author (who lived in the yeare of Chrift 858.) where among other things we have the time of their arrivall. Brittones (faith he) venerunt in 3. ætate mundi in Britanniam, Scythæ autem in 4. obtinuerunt Hiberniam. SIR JAMES WARE.

* A regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia: dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia. Tho. Walfingham, in Hypodigmate Neuftriæ, ad an. 1185.

noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conquest of the Indians, especially in those times, in which the same was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Irish doe heerein no otherwise, then our vaine English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine. But surely the Scythians (of whom I earst spoke) at such time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the sea-coast, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulster, which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland.

Eudox. I wonder (Irenæus) whether you runne so farre astray; for whilest wee talke of Ireland, mee thinks you rippe up the originall of Scotland, but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for Scotland and Ireland are all one and the same.

Eudox. That seemeth more strange; for we all know right well they are distinguished, with a great sea running between them; or else there are two Scotlands.

Iren. Never the more are there two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of Buchanan) the one Irin, or Irish Scots, the other Albin-Scots; for those Scots are Scythians arrived (as I said) in the North parts of Ireland, where some of them

after passed into the next coast of Albine, now called Scotland, which (after much trouble) they possessed, and of themselves named Scotland; but in proceſſe of time (as it is commonly ſeene) the dominion of the part prevaileth in the whole, for the Irish Scots putting away the name of Scots, were called only Irish, and the Albine Scots, leaving the name of Albine, were called only Scots. Therefore it commeth thence that of ſome writers Ireland is called Scotia-major, and that which now is called Scotland, Scotia-minor.

Eudox. I doe now well underſtand your diſtinguiſhing of the two ſorts of Scots, and two Scotlands, how that this which now is called Ireland was anciently called Erin, and afterwards of ſome written Scotland, and that which now is called Scotland was formerly called Albin, before the coming of the Scythes thither: but what other nation inhabited the other parts of Ireland?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North, (or before, for the certaintie of times in things ſo farre from all knowledge cannot be juſtly avouched) another nation coming out of Spaine arrived in the Weſt part of Ireland, and finding it waſte, or weakely inhabited, poſſeſſed it: who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Africans, or Gothes, or ſome other of thoſe Northerne Nations which did over-ſpread all Chriſtendome, it is impoſſible to affirme, only ſome naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of Spaine certainly they came, that do all the Irish Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe very boldly, *Iren.*, adventure upon the hiſtories of auncient times, and leane too confidently on thoſe Irish Chronicles which are moſt fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of ſuch a nation ſo antique, as that no monument remaines of her beginning and firſt inhabiting; eſpecially having been in thoſe times without letters, but

only bare traditions of times and remembrances of Bardes,¹ which use to forge and falsifie every thing as they list, to please or displease any man.

Iren. Truly I must confesse I doe so, but yet not so absolutely as you suppose. I do herein rely upon those Bardes or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves, through their ignorance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleieve and avouch them, but unto them besides I adde mine owne reading; and out of them both together, with comparifon of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinity of words and names, properties of natures and uses, resemblances of rites and ceremonies, monuments of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstances, I doe gather a likelihood of truth; not certainly affirming any thing, but by conferring of times, language, monuments, and such like, I doe hunt out a probability of things, which I leave to your judgement to believe or refuse. Neverthelesse there be some very auncient authors that make mention of these things, and some moderne, which by comparing them with present times, experience, and their owne reason, doe open a window of great light unto the rest that is yet unseene; as namely, of the elder times, Cæsar, Strabo,

¹ *remembrances of Bardes.*] Of the ancient Bards, or Poets, Lucan makes this mention in the first booke of his "Pharfalia:"—

"Vos quoque qui fortes anima, belloque peremptas
 "Laudibus in longum vates dimittis ævum,
 "Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi."

The word signified among the Gaules a finger, as it is noted by Mr. Camden, and Mr. Selden, out of "Festus Pompeius," and it had the same signification among the Brittish. Sir John Price, in the description of Wales, expounds it to bee one that had knowledge of things to come, and so (saith he) it signifieth at this day, taking his ground (amisse) out of Lucan's verses. Doctor Powell, in his notes upon Caradoc of Lhan-carvan, saith, that in Wales they preserved gentlemens armes and pedigrees. At this time in Ireland the Bard, by common acceptation, is counted a rayling rimer, and distinguished from the poet. SIR JAMES WARE.

Tacitus, Ptolomie, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Berosus: of the later, Vincentius, Æneas Sylvius, Luidus, Buchanan, for that hee himselfe, being an Irish Scot or Pict by nation,^m and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of all things concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both set downe the testimony of the auncients truely, and his owne opinion together withall very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bardes and Irish Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing perhappes too much, and ignorances of arts and purer learning, they have clouded the truth of those lines; yet there appeares among them some reliques of the true antiquitie, though disguised, which a well eyed man may happily discover and finde out.

Eudox. How can [t]here be any truth in them at all, since the auncient nations which first inhabited Ireland were altogether destitute of letters, much more of learning, by which they might leave the verity of things written. And those Bardes, comming also so many hundred yeares after, could not know what was done in former ages, nor deliver certainty of any thing, but what they fayned out of their unlearned heads.

Iren. Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth,ⁿ delivered

^m *an Irish Scot or Pict by nation.*] Bede tells us that the Picts were a colony of Scythians, who first comming into Ireland, and being denyed residence there by the Scots, were perswaded by them to inhabit the North parts of Britaine. But Mr. Camden, out of Dio, Herodian, Tacitus, &c. and upon consideration of the customes, name and language of the Picts, conceives, not improbably, that they were naturall Britons, although distinguished by name. SIR JAMES WARE.

ⁿ *Those Bardes indeed, Cæsar writeth.*] Concerning them I finde no mention in Cæsar's "Commentaries," but much touching the Druides, which were the priests and philosophers, (or Magi as Pliny calls them*) of the Gaules and British. "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, (saith he†) sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpre-

* Hist. Nat. lib. 16. cap. 44.

† De Bello Gallic. lib. 2.

no certaine truth of any thing, neither is there any certaine hold to be taken of any antiquity which is received by tradition, since all men be lyars, and many lye when they wil; yet for the antiquities of the written Chronicles of Ireland give me leave to say something, not to justifie them, but to shew that some of them might say truth. For where you say the Irish have alwayes bin without letters, you are therein much deceived, for it is certaine, that Ireland hath had the use of letters very anciently, and long before England.

Eudox. Is it possible? how comes it then that they are so unlearned still, being so old schollers? For learning (as the Poet saith) “Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros:” whence then (I pray you) could they have those letters?

Iren. It is hard to say: for whether they at their first comming into the land, or afterwards by trading with other nations which had letters, learned them of them, or devised them amongst themselves, is very doubtful; but that they had letters aunciently is nothing doubtfull, for the Saxons of England are said to have their letters, and learning, and learned men, from the Irish, and that also appeareth by the likenesse of the character, for the Saxons character is the same with the Irish. Now the Scythians never, as I can reade, of old had letters amongst them: therefore it seemeth that they had them from the nation which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo writeth) letters anciently used, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Persians, which (as it appeareth by him) had some footing there, or from Marfellis, which is said to have bin inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke character;

tantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ causâ concurrît, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore, &c.” The word δῆμι [Sax. Dny.] had anciently the same signification (as I am informed) among the Irish. SIR JAMES WARE.

of which Marfilians it is said, that the Gaules learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their trades and privat busines: for the Gaules (as is strongly to be proved by many auncient and authentical writers) did first inhabite all the sea coast of Spaine, even unto Cales and the mouth of the Straights, and peopled also a great part of Italy, which appeareth by fundry havens and cities in Spaine called from them, as Portugallia, Gallecia, Galdunum; and also by fundry nations therin dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the Gaules, as the Rhegni, Presamarci, Tamari, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pomponius Mela, being himselfe a Spaniard, yet saith to have descended from the Celts of France, whereby it is to be gathered, that that nation which came out of Spaine into Ireland were anciently Gaules, and that they brought with them those letters which they had anciently learned in Spaine, first into Ireland, which some also say doe much resemble the old Phenician character, being likewise distinguished with pricke and accent, as theirs aunciently, but the further enquirie hereof needeth a place of longer discourse then this our short conference.

Eudox. Surely you have shewed a great probability of that which I had thought impossible to have bin proved; but that which you now say, that Ireland should have bin peopled with the Gaules, seemeth much more strange, for all the Chronicles doe say, that the west and south was possessed and inhabited of Spaniards: and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same,^o all which you must overthrow and falsifie, or else renounce your opinion.

^o *and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same.*] Cornelius Tacitus, in the Life of Julius Agricola, saith thus. “*Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crinēs, & positus contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque fedes occupasse fidem faciunt.*” This he speaketh touching the Silures, which inhabited that part of South-Wales which now we call Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire. And although the like reason may be given for that part of Ireland which lyeth next unto Spaine,

Iren. Neither so, nor so; for the Irish Chronicles (as I shewed you) being made by unlearned men, and writing things according to the appearance of the truth which they conceived, doe erre in the circumstances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they being no diligent searchers into the differences of the nations) supposed to be Spaniards, and so called them; but the groundwork thereof is neverthelesse true and certain, however, they through ignorance disguise the same, or through vanity, whilst they would not seem to be ignorant, doe thereupon build and enlarge many forged histories of their owne antiquity, which they deliver to fooles, and make them believe for true: as for example, that first of one Gathelus the sonne of Cecrops or Argos, who having married the King of Egypt his daughter, thence sailed with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his sonnes, who comming

yet in Tacitus we find no such inference. Buchanan* indeed, upon the conjecture of Tacitus, hath these words: “*Verisimile autem non est Hispanos relicta à tergo Hiberniâ, terra propiore, & coeli & soli mitioris, in Albium primum descendisse, sed primum in Hiberniam appulisse, atque inde in Britanniâ colonos missos.*” Which was observed unto me by the most learned bishop of Meth, Dr. Anth. Martin, upon conference with his Lordship about this point. One passage in Tacitus touching Ireland (in the same booke) I may not heere omit, although it be extra oleas. “*Quinto expeditionum anno (saith he) nave primâ transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes, crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit, eamque partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem. Siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniâ atque Hispaniam sita, & Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperij partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus si Britanniæ comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cælumque & ingenia, cultusq; hominum haud multum à Britanniâ differunt, melius aditus portusq; per commercia & negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsus seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audiui Legionem unâ & modicis auxilijs debellari, obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque adversus Britanniâ profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, & velut è conspectu libertas tolleretur.*” SIR JAMES WARE.

* *Rer. Scot. Lib. I.*

out of Scythia peopled Ireland, and inhabited it with his sonnes 250 yeares, until he was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in Ireland, and at the last quite banished and rooted out, after whom 200 yeares, the sonnes of one Dela, being Scythians, arrived there againe, and possessed the whole land, of which the youngest, called Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch.^p Lastly, of the 4 sonnes of Milesius King of Spaine, which conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngest, Hiberus, Hibernia: all which are in truth fables, and very Milesian lyes, as the later proverbe is; for never was there such a King of Spaine called Milesius, nor any such colonie seated with his sonnes, as they faine, that can ever be proved; but yet under these tales you may in a manner see the truth lurke. For Scythians, here inhabiting, they name and put Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both these nations here inhabited, but whether very Spaniards, as the Irish greatly affect, is no wayes to be proved.

Eudox. Whence commeth it then that the Irish doe so greatly covet to fetch themselves from the Spaniards, since the old Gaules are a more auncient and much more honorable nation?

Iren. Even of a very desire of new fanglenes and vanity, for they derive themselves from the Spaniards, as seeing them to be a very honorable people, and neere bordering unto them: but all that is most vaine; for from the Spaniards that now are, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themselves to descend;

^p *Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch.*] The Irish stories have a continued succession of the Kings of Ireland from this Slanius, untill the conquest by King Henry the second, but very uncertaine, especially untill the planting of religion by S. Patrick, at which time Lægarius, or Lagarius was monarch. SIR JAMES WARE.

neither should it be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard, that now is, is come from as rude and savage nations as they, there being, as there may be gathered by course of ages and view of their owne history (though they therein labour much to enoble themselves) scarce any drop of the old Spanish blood left in them; for all Spaine was first conquered by the Romans, and filled with colonies from them, which were still increased, and the native Spaniard still cut off. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the long Punick Warres (having spoiled all Spaine, and in the end subdued it wholly unto themselves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the Romans. And lastly the Romans, having againe recovered that countrey and beate out Hannibal, did doubtlesse cut off all that favored the Carthaginians, so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romans. All which tempests of troubles being over-blowne, there long after arose a new storme, more dreadful then all the former, which over-ran all Spaine, and made an infinite confusion of all things; that was, the comming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Vandals: And lastly all the nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine flood, did over-flowe all Spaine, and quite drowned and washt away whatsoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the Romans too. The which Northern Nations finding the nature of the soyle, and the vehement heat thereof farre differing from their constitutions, tooke no felicity in that countrey, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all countreyes of Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinckling, if not throughly peopling of them. And yet after all these the Moores and the Barbarians, breaking over out of Africa, did finally possesse all Spaine, or the most part thereof, and did tread under their heathenish

feete whatever little they found yet there standing. The which, though after they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and Elizabeth his wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land, during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood, no more than of Roman or of Scythian. So that of all nations under heaven (I suppose) the Spaniard is the most mingled, and most uncertaine; wherefore most foolishly doe the Irish thinke to enoble themselves by wresting their auncientry from the Spaniard, who is unable to derive himselfe from any in certaine.

Eudox. You speake very sharply, Iren., in dispraise of the Spaniard, whom some others boast to be the onely brave nation under the skie.

Iren. So surely he is a very brave man; neither is that any thing which I speake to his derogation, for in that I said he is a mingled people, it is no dispraise, for I thinke there is no nation now in Christendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: for it was a singular providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his wisdome, to draw those Northerne Heathen Nations downe into those Christian parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle nations so remote miraculously, to make, as it were, one blood and kindred of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you sure any more dishonoured the Irish, for you have brought them from very great and ancient nations, as any were in the world, how ever fondly they affect the Spanish. For both Scythians and Gaules were two as mighty nations as ever the world brought forth. But is there any token, denomination or monument of the Gaules yet remaining in Ireland, as there is of the Scythians?

Iren. Yea surely very many words of the Gaules remaining, and yet dayly used in common speech.

Eudox. What was the Gaulish speech? is there any part of it still used among any nation?

Iren. The Gaulish speech is the very British, the which was very generally used here in all Brittain before the coming of the Saxons; and yet is retained of the Welchmen, Cornishmen, and the Brittaines of France, though time, working the alteration of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the dialect thereof: but yet the originall words appeare to be the same, as who hath list to read in Camden and Buchanan, may see at large. Besides, there be many places, as havens, hills, townes, and castles, which yet beare the names from the Gaules, of the which Buchanan rehearseth above 500 in Scotland, and I can (I thinke) recount neere as many in Ireland which retaine the old denomination of the Gaules, as the Menapii, Cauci, Venti, and others; by all which and many other reasonable probabilities (which this short course will not suffer to be laid forth) it appeareth that the cheife inhabitants in Ireland were Gaules, coming thither first out of Spaine, and after from besides Tanais, where the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Getes fate down, they also being (as it is said of some) ancient Gaules; and lastly passing out of Gallia it selfe, from all the sea-coast of Belgia and Celtica, into al the southerne coasts of Ireland, which they possessed and inhabited, whereupon it is at this day, amongst the Irish a common use to call any stranger inhabitant there amongst them, Gald, that is, descended from the Gaules.

Eudox. This is very likely, for even so did those Gaules anciently possesse all the southerne coasts of our Brittain, which yet retaine their old names, as the Belgæ in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and part of Hamshire, Attre-

batii in Berkeſhire, Regni in Suffex and Surry, and many others. Now thus farre then I underſtand your opinion, that the Scythians planted in the North part of Ireland; the Spaniards (for ſo we call them, what ever they were that came from Spaine) in the Weſt; the Gaules in the South: ſo that there now remaineth the Eaſt parts towards England, which I would be glad to underſtand from whence you doe think them to be peopled.

Iren. Mary, I thinke of the Brittaines themſelves, of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reaſon that the Saxons afterwards, and laſtly the Engliſh, driving out the inhabitants thereof, did poſſeſſe and people it themſelves. Yet amongſt the Toolles, the Birns, or Brins, the Cavenaghes, and other nations in Leinſter, there is ſome memory of the Britans remayning; as the Toolles are called of the old Britiſh word Tol, that is, a Hill Countrey, the Brins of the Britiſh word Brin, that is, Woods, and the Cavenaghes of the word Caune, that is, ſtrong; ſo that in theſe three people the very denomination[s] of the old Britons doe ſtill remaine. Beſides, when any ſlieth under the ſuccour and protection of any againſt an enemy, he cryeth unto him, Comericke, that is in the Brittiſh Helpe, for the Brittain is called in their owne language, Comeroy. Furthermore to prove the ſame, Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia,^a and a part of Great Brittain. Finally it appeareth by good record yet extant, that King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt,^r had all that iland under their

^a *Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia.]* Iris is by Diodorus called a part of Brittain: but Ireland by neither of them Britannia. SIR JAMES WARE.

^r *King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt.]* Concerning King Arthur's conqueſt of Ireland, ſee Geffry of Monmouth, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, at the yeare 525, where he is ſaid to have landed in Ireland with a great army, and in a battle to have taken King Gilla-Mury priſoner, and forced the other princes to ſubjection. In our Annals it

alleagiance and subjection: hereunto I could add many probabilities of the names of places, persons, and speeches, as I did in the former, but they should be too long for this, and I reserve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion, how all that realme of Ireland was first peopled, and by what nations. After all which the Saxons succeeding, subdued it wholly to themselves. For first Egfrid, King of Northumberland, did utterly waste and subdue it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint against him; and after him King Edgar brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by an auncient Record, in which it is found written that he subdued all the islands of the North, even unto Norway, and brought them into his subjection.

Eudox. This ripping of auncestors, is very pleasing unto me, and indeede favoureth of good conceipt, and some reading withall. I see hereby how profitable travaile, and experience of forraine nations, is to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neither indeede would I have thought, that any such antiquities could have beene avouched for the Irish, that maketh me the more to long to see some other of your observations, which you have gathered out of that country, and have earst half promised to put forth: and sure in this mingling of nations appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the people in the furthest parts of the world to seeke out their regions so remote from them, and by that meanes both to restore their decayed habitations, and to make himselfe knowne to the Heathen. But was there, I pray you, no more generall employing of that iland, then first

appeares that Moriartach (the sonne of Ercæ) was at that time King of Ireland, of which name some reliques seeme to be in Gilla-Mury, Gilla being but an addition used with many names, as Gilla-Patrick, &c. But in the country writers (which I have seene) I find not the least touch of this conquest. SIR JAMES WARE.

by the Scythians, which you say were the Scottes, and afterwards by the Spaniards, besides the Gaules, Brittaines, and Saxons?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that last and greatest, which was by the English, when the Earle Strangbowe, having conquered that land, delivered up the same into the hands of Henry the second, then King, who sent over thither great store of gentlemen, and other warlike people, amongst whom he distributed the land,^s and settled

^s *amongst whom he distributed the land.*] King Henry the 2. gave to Richard Strongbow* Earle of Striguil or Penbroke, all Leinster, excepting the city of Dublin, and the cantreds adjoyning with the maritime townes and castles. Unto Robert fitz Stephen,† and Miles de Cogan he granted the kingdome of Corke, excepting the city of Corke, and the Ostmans cantred. And unto Philip de Bruse‡ the kingdome of Limericke. But in a confirmation of King John to William de Bruse (or Braos) nephew to this Philip, wee finde that hee gave to him onely honorem de Limerick,§ retentis in dominico nostro (as the words of the charter are) civitate de Limerick & donationibus episcopatum & abbatiarum, & retentis in manu nostrâ cantredo Ostmannorum & S. insulâ. Among other large graunts (remembred by Hoveden) which this King Henry gave to the first adventurers, that of Meth to Sir Hugh de Lacy is of speciall note. The grant was in these words:—

“Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, & Dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andegaviæ. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justitiarijs, & omnibus ministris & fidelibus suis Francis, Anglis & Hiberniensibus totius terræ suæ, Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse, & præsentî chartâ meâ confirmâsse Hugoni de Lacy pro servitio suo, terram de Midiâ cum omnibus pertinentijs suis per servitium quinquaginta militum sibi & hæredibus suis, tenendum & habendum à me & hæredibus meis, sicut Murchardus Hu-melathlin eam tenuit, vel aliquis alius ante illum vel postea. Et de incremento illi dono omnia feoda quæ præbuit, vel quæ præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus est, ad faciendum mihi servitium apud civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ipse Hugo & hæredes sui post eum prædictam terram habeant, & teneant omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines, quas ibi habeo vel habere possum per prænominatum servitium, à me & hæredibus meis, benè & in pace, liberè, & quietè, & honorificè, in bosco & plano, in pratis & pascuis, in

* Gir. Camb. Hib. Expugn. lib. 1. cap. 28.

† Vid. Rog. de Hoveden, pag. 567. edit. Franc. & Camd. Brit. p. 379.

‡ Rog. de Hoveden, ibid.

§ Chart. an 2. Io. in arce Lond.

such a strong colonie therein, as never since could, with all the subtle practices of the Irish, be rooted out, but abide

aquis & molédinis, in vivarijs & stagnis, & piscationibus & venationibus, in vijs, & semitis, & portubus maris, & in omnibus alijs locis, & alijs rebus ad eam pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare possum, & hâc meâ chartâ confirmare. Test. comite Richardo filio Gilberti Willielmo de Braosa, &c. Apud Weisford."

But above all other graunts made by K. Henry the 2. that to his sonne John is most memorable. "Deinde (saith Hoveden*) venit rex Oxenford, & in generali concilio ibidem celebrato constituit Johannem filium suum Regem in Hiberniâ, concessione & confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis." By virtue of this graunt both in the life time of his father, and in the raigne of his brother King Richard, he was stiled in all his charters Dominus Hiberniæ, and directed them thus, "Joannes Dominus Hiberniæ, & comes Morton. Archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, Justitiarijs, vice comitibus, constabularijs, & omnibus ballivis & ministris suis totius Hiberniæ, salutem." Thus we have it frequently (although sometimes with a little variation) in the Registers of St. Mary abbey, and Thomascourt by Dublin. How the Earle in Leinster, and Lacy in Meth, distributed their lands, (besides what they retained in their owne hands) is delivered by Maurice Regan, (interpreter to Dermot Mac Murrough King of Leinster) who wrote the historie of those times in French verse. The booke was translated into English by Sir George Carew Lo. President of Mounster, afterwards Earle of Totnes, and communicated to me, by our most reverend and excellently learned primate. There wee finde that the Earle gave to Reymond le Grose† in marriage with his sister Fotherd, Odrone, and Glasearrig; unto Hervy de Mount-marish, hee gave Obarthy; unto Maurice de Prindergrait, Fernegenall, which was afterwards conferred upon Robert fitz Godobert, but by what meanes he obtained it (saith Regan) I know not. Unto Meiler Fitz Henry he gave Carbry; unto Maurice Fitz Gerald‡ the Naas Ofelin (which had beene possessed by Mackelan) and Wickloe; unto Walter de Ridelesford he gave the lands of Omorthy; unto John de Clahul the Marshalship of Leinster, and the land betweene Aghabo and Leghlin; unto Robert de Birmingham Ofaly; and unto Adam de Hereford large possessions. What these possessions were, are thus noted in the Register of Thomascourt abbey, where speaking of the Earle, "Postea Lageniâ perquisitâ, erat quidam

* In Hen. 2. p. 566.

† Consul. Gir. Camb. Hib. Expugn. lib. 2. cap. 4.

‡ This Maurice soone after deceasing at Wexford, King John, then Earle of Moreton, confirmed to his sonne William Fitz Maurice cantredum terræ quem Makelanus tenuit, illum sc. in quo villa de Naas sita est, quam comes Richardus dedit Mauritio patri ipsius Willielmi. Thus the charter, habetur in ros. com. placit. an. 10. Hen. 6. in turri Birminghamiano.

still a mighty people, of so many as remaine English of them.

Eudox. What is this that you say, of so many as remaine English of them? Why, are not they that were once English, English still?

Iren. No, for some of them are degenerated and

juvenis cum eo quem multum dilexit, & dedit eidem pro servitio suo terras & tenementa subscripta, viz. tenementum de saltu Salmonis, Cloncoury, Kill, Houterard, & tenementum de Donning cum omnibus suis pertinentiis." Thus the Register. This Adam de Hereford was founder of St. Wulstan's priory neere Leixlip in the county of Kildare. But we proceed with Regan. Unto Miles Fitz David, who was one of his chiefe favorites, he gave Overk in Offory; to Thomas de Fleming, Arde; to Gilbert de Borard, Ofelmith; to a knight called Reinand he gave 15 knight's fees adjoyning to the sea; and to one Robert (who was afterwards slaine in Connaught) the Norragh. What partition Lacy made in Meth he thus delivers. Unto his speciall friend Hugh Tirrell he gave Castleknock: and unto William Petit Castlebreck. I have seene an ancient deede made by Sir Hugh de Lacy to this William Petit wherein among other things he graunts unto him Mathere-thirnan "cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, exceptis Lacu & villâ quæ dicitur Differt, &c." Unto the valiant Meiler Fitz Henry (sayth Regan) he gave Magherneran, the lands of Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athnorker. Unto Gilbert de Nangle all Magherigallen; unto Jocelin, the sonne of Gilbert de Nangle, the Navan and the land of Ardraccan: unto Richard de Tuite he gave faire possessions; unto Robert de Lacy Rathwer; unto Richard de la Chappell he gave much land; unto Geffry de Constantine Kilbisky and Rathmarthy: unto Adam de Feipo, Gilbert de Nugent, William de Misset, and Hugh de Hose, he gave large inheritances. In Lacyes graunt to Feipo, we finde that he gave him Skrine, "et præterea (sayth the deede*) feodum unius militis circa Duvelinam, scil. Clantorht & Santref. &c." In his graunt to Gilbert de Nugent, (the originall whereof I have seene, with an impressiion upon the seale of a Knight armed and mounted,) he gave to him Delvin, "quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenuerunt O-Finelans, cum omnibus pertinentiis & villis, quæ infra prædictam Delvin continentur, exceptâ quadam villâ Abbatis Fouræ nomine Torrochelasch pro servitio 5. militum." Thus the charter. To Misset hee gave Luin, and to Hufley or Hose Galtrim. Regan proceeds. Unto Adam Dullard hee gave the lands of Dullenvarth; unto one Thomas he gave Cramly: Tim-lath began north east from Kenlis, Lathrachalim, and Sendevonath; and unto Richard le Flemming he gave Crandon at twenty Knights fees. SIR JAMES WARE.

* Magn. regist. mon. B. Mariæ juxta Dublin. fol. 76.

growne almost mere Irish, yea and more malicious to the English then the Irish themselves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it possible that an Englishman, brought up in such sweet civility as England affords, should find such likeing in that barbarous rudenes, that he should forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation? how may this bee, or what (I pray you) may be the cause thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothing but the first evill ordinance and institution of that Common-wealth. But thereof here is no fit place to speake, least, by the occasion thereof offering matter of a long discourse, we might be drawne from this that we had in hand, namely, the handling of abuses in the customes of Ireland.

Eudox. In truth, *Iren.*, you doe well remember the plot of your first purpose; but yet from that (me seemes) ye have much swarved in all this long discourse, of the first inhabiting of Ireland; for what is that to your purpose?

Iren. Truly very materiall; for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to shew by what meanes the customes, that now are in Ireland, being some of them indeede very strange and almost heathenish, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those nations from whom that countrey was first peopled; for the difference in manners and customes doth follow the difference of nations and people: the which I have declared to you to have been three especially, which seated themselves here; to wit, first the Scythian, then the Gaules, and lastly the English. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were fundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remaine divers great families and septs, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring your selfe, *Iren.*, very well into the way againe, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you

were never out of the way, but now that you have passed thorough those antiquities, which I could have wished not so soone ended, begin, when you please, to declare what customes and manners have beene derived from those nations to the Irish, and which of them you finde fault withall.

Iren. I will begin then to count their customes in the same order that I counted their nations, and first with the Scythian or Scottish manners. Of the which there is one use amongst them, to keepe their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the yeare in boolies, pasturing upon the mountaine, and waste wilde places; and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Jo. Bohemus, and yet is used amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heards as they call them, being the very same that the Irish boolies are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding onely on their milke and white meats.

Eudox. What fault can you finde with this custome? for though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very be-hoofefull in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountaines, and waste deserts full of grasse, that the same should be eaten downe, and nourish many thousands of cattle for the good of the whole realme, which cannot (me thinks) well be any other way, then by keeping those boolies there, as yee have shewed.

Iren. But by this custome of boolying there grow in the meane time many great enormities unto that Common-wealth. For first, if there bee any out-lawes, or loose people, (as they are never without some) which live upon stealthes and spoyles, they are evermore succoured and finde releife only in these boolies, being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly

to starve, or to come downe to the townes to seeke releife, where, by one meanes or other, they would soone be caught. Besides, such stealthes of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those boodies, being upon those waste places where they are readily received, and the theife harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that thus live in those boodies grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than they could in townes, using what manners they list, and practizing what mischeifes and villainies they will, either against the government there, by their combynations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. For there they thinke themselves halfe exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedome, doe, like a steere that hath beene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after to come under rule again.

Eudox. By your speech, Iren., I perceive more evill come by this use of boodies, than good by their grasing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due course: do you proceed to the next.

Iren. They have another custome from the Scythians, that is the wearing of Mantles, and long glibbes,[†] which is a thicke curled bush of haire, hanging downe over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them, which are both very bad and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the mantle commeth from the Scythians? I would surely think otherwise, for by that which I have read, it appeareth that most nations of

[†] *and long glibbes, &c.*] "In Terconnell the haire of their head growes so long and curled, that they goe bare-headed, and are called *Glibs*; the women, *Glibbins*." Gainsford's "Glory of England," 4to. Lond. 1618, p. 151. Todd. Todd seems to have forgotten that the "hairy glib" has been mentioned by Spenser in his *F. Q. B. iv. C. 8. St. 12*, vol. iii. p. 214, where see the note. C.

the world aunciently used the mantle. For the Jewes used it, as you may read of Elyas mantle, &c. The Chaldees also used it, as yee may read in Diodorus. The Egyptians likewise used it, as yee may read in Herodotus, and may be gathered by the description of Berenice, in the Greeke Commentary upon Callimachus. The Greekes also used it aunciently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with starrs, though afterwards they changed the form thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia,^u as some of the Irish also use. And the auncient Latines and Romans used it, as you may read in Virgil, who was a very great antiquary,—that Evander, when Ænæas came to him at his feast, did entertaine and feast him, sitting on the ground, and lying on mantles. Infomuch as he useth the very word mantile for a mantle.

“ ——— Humi mantilia sternunt.”^x

^u *they changed the form thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia.*] As the Romans had their gowne called toga, so the ancient outward vestiment of the Grecians was called Pallium, by some translated a mantle, although it be now commonly taken for a cloake, which doth indeed somewhat resemble a mantle. By these different kinds of habit, the one was so certainly distinguished from the other, that the word *togatus* was often used to signifie a Roman, and *Palliat* a Grecian, as it is observed by Mr. Tho. Godwin* out of Sigonius.† “Togati (saith he) pro Romanis dicti, ut Palliati pro Græcis.” But that the ancient Latines and Romans used it, as the author alledgeth, (out of I know not what place in Virgil) appeareth no way unto mee. That the gowne was their usuall outward garment is most certaine, and that commonly of wooll, finer or courser according to the dignity of the person that wore it. Whence Horace, “Satyr.” 3. lib. 1.

—— “Sit mihi mensa tripes, et

“Concha falis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus,

“Quamvis crassa, queat.”

And from this difference betweene the ancient Roman and Grecian habit grew the proverbs, “modò palliatus, modò togatus,” and “de togâ ad pallium,” to denote an unconstant person. SIR JAMES WARE.

^x “——— *Humi mantilia sternunt.*”] Evanders entertainment of Æneas, is set out in the 8. booke of Virgils Æneis, but there we have

* Romanæ histor. antholog. lib. 2. sect. 3. cap. 7.

† Deind. l. 3. cap. 19.

So that it seemeth that the mantle was a generall habite to most nations, and not proper to the Scythians onely, as you suppose.

Iren. I cannot deny but that aunciently it was common to most, and yet sithence disused and laide away. But in this later age of the world, since the decay of the Romane empire, it was renewed and brought in againe by those Northerne Nations when, breaking out of their cold caves and frozen habitations into the sweet foyle of Europe, they brought with them their usual weedes, fit to sheild the cold, and that continual frost, to which they had at home beene inured: the which yet they left not off, by reason that they were in perpetual warres with the nations whom they had invaded, but, still removing from place to place, carried always with them that weed, as their house, their bed, and their garment; and, coming lastly into Ireland, they found there more speciall use thereof, by reason of the raw cold climate, from whom it is now growne into that general use in which that people now have it. After whom the Gaules succeeding, yet finding the like necessitie of that garment, continued the like use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the necessity thereof is so commodious, as you alledge, that it is instead of housing, bedding, and cloathing, what reason have you then to wish so necessarie a thing cast off?

Iren. Because the commoditie doth not countervaille the discommoditie, for the inconveniences which thereby doe arise are much more many; for it is a fit house for

no such word as mantile. In his entertainment by Dido we have it, but in another sence. "*Æneid.*" lib. 1.

"Jam pater Æneas, & jam Trojana juvenus

"Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro,

"Dant famuli manibus lymphas, Cereremque canistris

"Expediunt, tonsisque ferunt mantilia villis."

SIR JAMES WARE.

an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a thiefe. First the out-law being for his many crimes and villanyes banished from the townes and houses of honest men, and wandring in waste places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his house, and under it covereth himselfe from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raineth it is his pent-house; when it bloweth it is his tent; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer he can wear it loose, in winter he can wrap it close; at all times he can use it; never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a rebell it is as serviceable; for in his warre that he maketh (if at least it deserve the name of warre) when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woods and strait passages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea, and almost his household stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to sleep in. Therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himselfe strongly against the gnats, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked rebels, whilst they keepe the woods, and doe more sharply wound them then all their enemies swords or spears, which can seldome come nigh them: yea, and oftentimes their mantle serveth them when they are neere driven, being wrapped about their left arme in stead of a target, for it is hard to cut thorough with a sword, besides it is light to beare, light to throw away, and, being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a theife it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him; for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that commeth handsomly in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his best and surest friend; for lying, as they often do, 2 or 3 nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush

or a bank side, till they may conveniently do their errand : and when all is over, he can in his mantle passe thorough any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered. Besides this, he, or any man els that is disposed to mischief or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed without suspition of any, carry his head-peece, his skean,^y or pistol if he please, to be alwayes in readines. Thus necessary and fitting is a mantle for a bad man, and surely for a bad hufwife it is no lesse convenient, for some of them that bee wandring woemen, called of them Mona-shul, it is halfe a wardrobe ; for in Summer you shal find her arrayed commonly but in her smock and mantle, to be more ready for her light services : in Winter, and in her travaile, it is her cloake and safeguard, and also a coverlet for her lewde exercise. And when she hath filled her vessell, under it she can hide both her burden, and her blame ; yea, and when her bastard is borne it serves instead of swadling clouts. And as for all other good women which love to doe but little worke, how handsome it is to lye in and sleepe, or to louse themselves in the sun-shine, they that have beene but a while in Ireland can well witnes. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfit for a good hufwife to stirre in, or to busie her selfe about her hufwifry in such sort as she should. These be some of the abuses for which I would thinke it meet to forbid all mantles.

Eudox. O evill minded man, that having reckoned up so many uses of a mantle, will yet wish it to be abandoned ! Sure I thinke Diogenes dish did never serve his master for more turnes, notwithstanding that he made it his

^y *his skean.*] A "skean," or "skena," was a *short sword, dagger, or knife*, and seems to have been a weapon particularly Irish. See the note on "Romeo and Juliet," A. ii. Sc. 4. Shakespeare's Works, by Collier, 1858, vol. v. p. 141.

dish, his cup, his cap, his measure, his water-pot, then a mantle doth an Irish man. But I see they be most to bad intents, and therefore I will joyne with you in abolishing it. But what blame lay you to the glibbe? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too busie therewith for feare of your owne blame, seeing our Englishmen take it up in such a generall fashion to weare their haire so immeasurably long, that some of them exceed the longest Irish glibs.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeserved dislikes; but for the Irish glibbes, they are as fit maskes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whensoever he hath run himselfe into that perill of law that he will not be knowne, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himselfe, or pulleth it so low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to discerne his theevish countenance. And therefore fit to be trussed up with the mantle.

Eudox. Truly these three Scythian abuses, I hold most fit to bee taken away with sharpe penalties; and sure I wonder how they have beene kept thus long, notwithstanding so many good provisions and orders as have beene devised for that people.

Iren. The cause thereof shall appeare to you hereafter; but let us now go forward with our Scythian customes. Of which the next that I have to treat of is the manner of raising the cry in their conflicts, and at other troublesome times of uproare: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, describing the manner of the Scythians and Parthians comming to give the charge at battles: at which it is said, that they came running with a terrible yell, as if heaven and earth would have gone together, which is the very image of the Irish hubbub, which their kerne use^z at their

^z which their kerne use, &c.] The kern is the Irish foot-soldier; and

first encounter. Besides, the same Herodotus writeth, that they used in their battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and sometimes upon their greatest kings deceased, as in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus :^a which custome to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the Irish. For at their joyning of battle, they lykewise call upon their captaines name, or the word of his auncestours. As they under Oneale cry Laundarg-abo, that is, the bloody hand, which is Oneales badge : they under O Brien call Laun-laidir, that is, the strong hand. And to their ensample, the old English also which there remayneth have gotten up their cryes Scythian-like, as Crom-abo, and Butler-abo. And here also lyeth open an other manifest prooffe that the Irish bee Scythes or Scots, for in all their incounters they use one very common word, crying Ferragh, Ferragh, which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first Kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus, which fought against the Pictes, as you may reade in Buchanan de rebus Scoticis ; but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chiefe Captaine, under whom they fought against the Africans, the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their battailes.

Eudox. Believe me, this observation of yours, Irenæus, is very good and delightfull ; far beyond the blinde conceipt of some, who (I remember) have upon the same word Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecture ; as namely

is also employed in this sense by Shakespeare. See likewise Gainsford's "Glory of England," 4to. 1618, p. 149 : "The name of *Galliglas* is in a manner extinct, but of KERN in great reputation, as serving them [the Irish] in their revolts ; and proving [in]sufficient souldiers, but excellent for skirmish." Again, p. 150 : "They [the Irish] are desperate in revenge ; and their *kerne* thinke no man dead, untill his head be off." TODD. In "Macbeth," A. i. Sc. 2, we have both "kerns" and "gal-lowglasses." See also "Henry VI. Pt. 2," A. iv. Sc. 9. C.

^a as in that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus.] Herodotus in the description of that battle hath no such thing. SIR JAMES WARE.

Mr. Stanihurst, who though he be the same countrey man borne, that should search more neerly into the secret of these things, yet hath strayed from the truth all the heavens wyde (as they say,) for he thereupon groundeth a very grosse imagination, that the Irish should descend from the Egyptians which came into that island, first under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, whereupon they use (saith he) in all their battailes to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh,^b Ferragh. Surely he shootes wyde on the bow hand, and very far from the marke. For I would first know of him what auncient ground of authority he hath for such a senselesse fable, and if he have any of the rude Irish bookes, as it may be hee hath, yet (me seemes) that a man of his learning should not so lightly have bin carried away with old wives tales from approvance of his owne reason; for whether it be a smack of any learned judgment to say that Scota is like an Egyptian word let the learned judge. But his Scota rather comes of the Greek *σκότος*, that is, darknes, which hath not let him see the light of the truth.

Iren. You know not, Eudoxus, how well M. Stan. could see in the darke; perhaps he hath owles or cats eyes, but well I wot he seeth not well the very light in matters of more weight. But as for Ferragh I have told my conjecture only, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelihood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Irish men (chiefly in the Northerne parts) called by the name of Ferragh. But let that now be: this only for this place suffiseth, that it is a word used in their

^b to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh.] The vulgar Irish suppose the subject of this war-song to have been *Forroch*, or *Ferragh*, (an easy corruption of *Pharroch*, which Selden, in his notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*, says was the war-song once in use amongst the Irish kerns,) a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale. See Mr. Walker's "Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards," notes, p. 96, and Mr. Warton's note on *Sir Ferraragh*, F. Q. iv. ii. 4. Todd. It will be found in this edit. vol. iii. p. 105. C.

common hububs, the which (with all the rest) is to be abolished, for that it discovereth an affectation to Irish captainry, which in this platform I endeavour specially to beat down. There be other sorts of cryes also used among the Irish, which favour greatly of the Scythian barbarisme, as their lamentations at their buryals, with dispairfull out-cryes, and immoderate waylings, the which M. Stanihurst might also have used for an argument to proove them Egyptians. For so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Joseph. Others thinke this custome to come from the Spaniards, for that they doe immeasurably likewise bewaile their dead; but the same is not proper Spanish, but altogether heathenish, brought in thither first either by the Scythians, or the Moores, that were Africans and long possessed that countrey. For it is the manner of all Pagans and Infidels to be intemperate in their waylings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of salvation. And this ill custome also is specially noted by Diodorus Siculus, to have beene in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the Northerne Scots at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

Eudox. This is sure an ill custome also, but yet doth not so much concerne civill reformation, as abuse in religion.

Iren. I did not rehearse it as one of the abuses which I thought most worthie of reformation; but having made mention of Irish cryes I thought this manner of lewd crying and howling not impertinent to be noted as uncivill and Scythian-like: for by these old customes, and other like conjecturall circumstances, the descents of nations can only be proved, where other monuments of writings are not remayning.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whensoever in your discourse you meet with them by the way, doe not shun, but

boldly touch them; for besides their great pleasure and delight for their antiquity, they bring also great profit and helpe unto civility.

Iren. Then sith you will have it so, I will heere take occasion, since I lately spake of their manner of cryes in joyning of battaile, to speake also somewhat of the manner of their armes, and array in battell, with other customes perhappes worthy the noting. And first of their armes and weapons,^c amongst which their broad swordes are proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. And the same also the old Scots used, as you may read in Buchanan, and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the same forme expressed. Also their short bowes, and little quivers with short bearded arrowes, are also very Scythian,^d as you may reade in the same Olaus. And the same sort, both of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, are at this day to bee seene commonly amongst the Northerne Irish-Scots, whose Scottish bowes are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hempe slackley bent, and whose arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with Steele heads, made like common broad arrow heades, but much more sharpe and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely. Moreover, their long broad shields, made but with wicker roddes, which are commonly used amongst the said Northerne Irish, but especially of the Scots, are brought from the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus

^c *And first of their armes and weapons.*] This subject is illustrated with great care, in the following work: "An Historical Essay on the Drefs of the ancient and modern Irish; to which is subjoined a Memoir of the Armour and Weapons of the Irish. By Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M.R.I.A." Dublin [London], 1788. TODD.

^d *Scythian.*] The originall of the very name Scythians seemeth to come from shooting. Vide Selden, Annot. in Poly-olb. (ex. Gorop. Becan. Beccesel. et. Aluredi leg.) p. 133. SIR JAMES WARE.

Magnus, Solinus, and others: likewise their going to battle without armor on their bodies or heads, but trusting to the thicknes of their glibbs, the which (they say) will sometimes beare off a good stroke, is meere Scythian, as you may see in the said images of the old Scythes or Scots, set foorth by Herodianus and others. Besides, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have been used by the Scythians. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered, together with other circumstances, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythes originally, though sithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to these I may also adde another strong conjecture which commeth to my mind, that I have often observed there amongst them; that is, certain religious ceremonies, which are very superstitiously yet used amongst them, the which are also written by fundry authors, to have been observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were anciently all one. For Plutarch^e (as I remember) in his Treatise on Homer, endeavouring to search out the truth, what countryman Homer was, proveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an Æolian borne; for that in describing a sacrifice of the Greekes, he omitted the loyne, the which all the other Grecians (saving the Æolians) use[d] to burne in their sacrifices: also for that he makes the intralls to be rosted on five spits, which was the proper manner of the Æolians, who onely, of all the nations of Grecia, used to sacrifice in that sort. By which he inferreth, necessarily, that Homer

^e *Plutarch.*] Not he, but Herodotus, in the Life of Homer. SIR JAMES WARE.

was an Æolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irish are descended from the Scythians; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same ceremonies which the Scythians anciently used. As for example, you may read in Lucian, in that sweet dialogue which is intitled *Toxaris* or of friendship, that the common oath of the Scythians was by the sword, and by the fire,^f for that they accounted those two speciall divine powers, which should worke vengeance on the perjurers. So doe the Irish at this day, when they goe to battaile, say certaine prayers or charmes to their swords, making a crosse therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground; thinking thereby to have the better successe in fight. Also they use commonly to sweare by their swords. Also the Scythians used, when they would binde any solemne vow or combination amongst them, to drink a bowle of blood together,^g vowing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrel: and even so do the wild Scots, as you may read in Buchanan; and some of the Northerne Irish. Likewise at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they say certaine prayers, and use some other superstitious rites, which shew that they honour the fire and the light; for all those Northerne nations, having beene used to be annoyed with much colde and darkeness, are wont therefore to have the fire and the sunne in great veneration: like as contrarywise the

^f *by the sword, and by the fire.*] Lucian hath it, *by the sword, and by the wind*. Somewhat may be gathered to this purpose out of the *Ulster Annals*,* where Lægarius (or Lagerius) a heathen King of Ireland, being taken prisoner by the Leinster men, is said to have bin released upon an oath, which was *per solem et ventum*. SIR JAMES WARE.

^g *to drink a bowle of blood together, &c.*] See Mela, lib. 11. cap. 1. Other nations also observed this custom. See Herodotus, l. 1. c. 74. TODD.

* An. 458.

Moores and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreame heat of the sunne, doe every morning, when the sunne ariseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague. You may also reade in the same booke, in the Tale of Arfacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people to joyne with him in his revenge, to sit in some publicke place for certaine dayes upon an oxe hide, to which there would resort all such persons as being disposed to take armes, would enter into his pay, or joyne with him in his quarrel. And the same you may likewise reade to have beene the ancient manner of the wilde Scotts, which are indeed the very naturall Irish. Moreover, the Scythians used to sweare by their Kings hand, as Olaus sheweth. And so do the Irish use now to sweare by their Lords hand, and, to forswear it, holde it more criminall than to sweare by God. Also the Scythians said, That they were once a yeare turned into wolves, and so is it written of the Irish: though Master Camden in a better sense doth suppose it was a disease, called *Lycanthropia*,^h so named of the wolfe. And yet some of the Irish doe use to make the wolfe their gossip. The Scythians used also to seethe the flesh in the hide; and so doe the Northerne Irish. The Scythians used to

^h a disease, called *Lycanthropia*.] “Among these humors of Melancholy the phisitions place a kinde of madnes, by the Greeks called *Lycanthropia*, termed by the Latines *Insania Lupina*, or *Wolves furie*: which bringeth a man to this point, (as Altomare affirmeth) that in Februarie he will goe out of the house in the night like a wolfe, hunting about the graves of the dead with great howling; and plucke the dead mens bones out of the sepulchers, carrying them about the streets, to the greate feare and astonishment of all them that meete him. And the foresaide author affirmeth, that melancholike persons of this kinde have pale faces, soaked and hollow eies, with a weak sight, never shedding one tear to the view of the world, &c.” “The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles,” (a translation from the Italian,) 4to. 1600, p. 19. TODD.

draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof: and so do the Irish in the North still. Many such customes I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of finging, of feasting, of cursing, though Christians have wyped out the most part of them, by resemblance whereof it might plainly appeare to you that the nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I finde my speech drawne out to a greater length then I purposed. Thus much onely for this time, I hope, shall suffice you, to thinke that the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians.

Eudox. Surely, Iren., I have heard, in these few words, that from you which I would have thought had bin impossible to have bin spoken of times so remote, and customes so ancient: with delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced, and carried so farre from my selfe, as that I am now right sorry that you ended so soone. But I marvaile much how it commeth to passe, that in so long continuance of time, and so many ages come betweene, yet any jot of those olde rites and superstitious customes should remaine amongst them.

Iren. It is no cause of wonder at all; for it is the maner of many nations to be very superstitious, and diligent observers of old customes and antiquities; which they receive by continuall tradition from their parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicle[r]s, in their songs, by daylie use and ensample of their elders.

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) observed any such customes amongst them, brought likewise from the Spaniards or Gaules, as these from the Scythians? that may sure be very materiall to your first purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have; and who that will by this occasion more diligently marke and compare their customes shall finde many more. But there are fewer re-

mayning of the Gaules or Spaniards then of the Scythians, by reason that the partes, which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the Westerne and Southerne Sea, were thence visited with strangers and forraine people, repaying thither for trafficke, and for fishing, which is very plentifull upon those coasts: for the trade and interdeale of sea-coast nations one with another worketh more civilitie and good fashions, (all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions,) then amongst the inland folke, which are seldome seene of forrainers; yet some of such as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And first I will, for the better credit of the rest, shew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted that no man shall weare his beard onely on the upper lip, shaving all his chinne. And this was the auncient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans to cut off all their beards close, save onelie their muschachios, which they weare long. And the cause of this use was for that they, being bred in a hot countrey, found much haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them: for which cause they did cut it most away, like as contrarily all other nations, brought up in cold countreys, do use to nourish their haire, to keepe them the warmer, which was the cause that the Scythians and Scottes wore Glibbes (as I shewed you) to keepe their heads warme, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them also (I thinke) came saffron shirts and smocks, which was devised by them in those hot countreys, where saffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much sweating, and long wearing of linnen: also the woemen amongst the old Spaniards had the charge of all household affaires, both at home and abroad, (as Bo[h]emus writeth) though now the Spaniards use it quite otherwise. And so have the Irish woemen the trust and care of all things, both at

home, and in the field. Likewise round leather targets is the Spanish fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in Ireland they use also, in many places, coloured after their rude fashion. Moreover the manner of their woemens riding on the wrong side of the horse, I meane with their faces towards the right side, as the Irish use, is (as they say) old Spanish, and some say African, for amongst them the woemen (they say) use so to ride: Also the deepe smocke sleive, which the Irish woemen use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary: and yet that should seeme rather to be an old English fashion; for in armory the fashion of the Manche, which is given in armes by many, being indeede nothing else but a sleive, is fashioned much like to that sleive. And that Knights in auncient times used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive, upon their armes,ⁱ as appeareth by that which is written of Sir Launcelot, that he wore the sleive of the faire Maide of Asteloth in a tourney, whereat Queene Gueneuer was much displeased.

Eudox. Your conceipt is good, and well fitting for things so far growne from certainty of knowledge and learning, onely upon likelyhoods and conjectures. But have you any customes remaining from the Gaules or Brittaines?

Iren. I have observed a few of either; and who will better search into them may finde more. And first the profession of their Bardes was (as Cæsar writeth) usuall amongst the Gaules; and the same was also common amongst the Brittons, and is not yet altogether left off with the Welsh which are their posterity. For all the fashions of the Gaules and Brittaines, as he testifieth,

ⁱ *used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive, upon their armes.*]
This custome is noticed in "Colin Clout's come Home again." Todd.

were much like. The long darts came also from the Gaules, as you may read in the same Cæsar, and in Jo. Bo[h]emus. Likewise the said Jo. Bo[h]emus writeth, that the Gaules used swords a handfull broad, and so doe the Irish now. Also they used long wicker shields in battaile that should cover their whole bodies, and so doe the Northerne Irish; but I have not seene such fashioned targets used in the Southerne parts, but onely amongst the Northerne people, and Irish-Scottes. I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. Also the Gaules used to drinke their enemyes blood, and painte themselves therewith: so also they write, that the old Irish were wont, and so have I seene some of the Irish doe, but not their enemyes but freinds blood. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Limericke, called Murrogh O-Brien, I saw an old woman, which was his foster mother, take up his head, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood that runne thereout, saying, that the earth was not worthy to drinke it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast, and tore her haire, crying out and shrieking most terribly.

Eudox. You have very well runne through such customes as the Irish have derived from the first old nations which inhabited the land; namely, the Scythians, the Spaniards, the Gaules, and the Brittaines. It now remaineth that you take in hand the customes of the old English which are amongst the Irish: of which I doe not thinke that you shall have much cause to finde fault with, considering that by the English most of the old bad Irish customes were abolished, and more civill fashions brought in their stead.

Iren. You think otherwise, Eudox., then I doe; for the cheifest abuses which are now in that realme, are growne from the English, and some of them are now

much more lawlesse and licentious then the very wilde Irish: so that as much care as was by them had to reforme the Irish, so and much more must now bee used to reforme them; so much time doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That seemeth very strange which you say, that men should so much degenerate from their first natures as to growe wilde.

Iren. So much can liberty and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the English there, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amongst them at the first, and had they not governours to curbe and keepe them still in awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was, for the most part, such as did more hurt then good; for they had governours for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and Butlers, both adversaries and corrivales one against the other. Who though, for the most part, they were but deputies under some of the Kings of Englands sonnes, brethren, or other neare kinsmen, who were the Kings lieutenants, yet they swayed so much, as they had all the rule, and the others but the title. Of which Butlers and Geraldynes, albeit (I must confesse) there were very brave and worthy men, as also of other the Peeres of that realme, made Lo: Deputies, and Lo: Justices at fundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conquests and feignories they grew insolent, and bent both that regall authority, and also their private powers, one against another, to the utter subversion of themselves, and strengthning of the Irish againe. This you may read plainly discovered by a letter written from the citizens of Cork out of Ireland, to the Earle of Shrewsbury then in England, and remaining yet upon record, both in the Towre of London,

and also among the Chronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the English Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great possessions in Ireland, began, through pride and infolency, to make private warres one against another, and, when either part was weak, they would wage and draw in the Irish to take their part, by which meanes they both greatly encouraged and inabled the Irish, which till that time had beene shut up within the Mountaines of Slewlogher, and weakened and disabled themselves, insomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired, and some of them, which are there reckoned to have been able to have spent 12 or 1300 pounds per annum, of old rent, (that I may say no more) besides their commodities of creekes and havens, were now scarce able to dispend the third part. From which disorder, and through other huge calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almost now growne like the Irish: I meane of such English as were planted above towards the West; for the English Pale hath preserved it selfe, thorough nearenes of the state, in reasonable civilitie, but the rest which dwelt in Connaght and in Mounster, which is the sweetest soyle of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, are degenerate, yea, and some of them have quite shaken off their English names, and put on Irish that they might bee altogether Irish.

Eudox. Is it possible that any should so farre growe out of frame that they should in so short space, quite forget their countrey and their owne names? that is a most dangerous lethargie, much worse then that of Mefala Corvinus, who, being a most learned man, thorough sickenesse forgot his owne name. But can you count us any of this kinde?

Iren. I cannot but by report of the Irish themselves,

who report, that the Mac-mahons,^k in the North, were aunciently English; to wit, descended from the Fitz Urfulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish names. Likewise that the Mac-fwynes, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres in England, but that they themselves, for hatred of English, so disguised their names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their owne natural countryes, as that they would bee ashamed of their name, and byte at the dugges from which they sucked life?

Iren. I wote well there should be none; but proud hearts doe oftentimes (like wanton colts) kicke at their mothers, as we read Alcibiades and Themistocles did, who, being banished out of Athens, fled unto the Kings of Asia, and there stirred them up to warre against their country, in which warres they themselves were cheif-taines. So they say did these Mac-fwines and Mac-mahons, or rather Veres and Fitz-Urfulaes, for private despight, turne themselves against England: For at such time as Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was in the Barons warres against King Richard the Second, through the mallice of the Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he with his kinsman Fitz Urfula fled into Ireland, where being prosecuted, and afterwards in England put to death, his kinsman, there remaining behinde in Ireland, rebelled, and, conspiring with the Irish, did quite cast off both their English name and alleagiance, since which time they have so remained still, and have since beene counted meere Irish. The very like is also re-

^k *Mac-mahons, &c.*] These families of Mac-mahones and Mac-fwines are by others held to be of the ancient Irish. SIR JAMES WARE.

ported of the Mac-fwines, Mac-mahones, and Mac-shehies of Mounster, how they likewise were aunciently English, and old followers to the Earle of Desmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the Fourth: at which time the Earle of Desmond that then was, called Thomas, being through false subornation (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at Tredagh¹ most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King. Thereupon all his kinsmen of the Geraldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounster, in revenge of that huge wrong, rose into armes against the King, and utterly renounced and forsooke all obedience to the Crowne of England; to whom the said Mac-fwines, Mac-shehies, and Mac-mahones, being then servants and followers, did the like, and have ever sithence so continued. And with them (they say) all the people of Mounster went out, and many other of them, which were meere English, thenceforth joyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irish habits and customes, which could never since be cleane wyped away, but the contagion hath remained still amongst their posterities. Of which sort (they say) be most of the surnames which end in an, as Heenan, Shinan, Mungan, &c. the which now account themselves naturall Irish. Other great houses there bee of the English in Ireland, which thorough licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have degendred^m from their auncient dignities, and are now

¹ *Tredagh*.] Others hould that he was beheaded at Tredagh, 15. Febr. 1467, by (the command of) John Tiptoft Earle of Worcester, then Lo: Deputy of Ireland, for exacting of Coyne and Livery. Vid. Camden. Britan. pag. 738. edit. Londin. an. 1607. SIR JAMES WARE.

^m *degendred*.] This is the manuscript reading, and confirms the use of

growne as Irish as O-hanlans breech, as the proverbe there is.ⁿ

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a most shamefull hearing, and to be reformed with most sharp censures in so great personages, to the terrour of the meaner: for if the lords and cheife men degenerate, what shall be hoped of the peasants, and baser people? And hereby sure you have made a faire way unto your selfe to lay open the abuses of their evill customes, which you have now next to declare, the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the Irish, as their apparell, their language, their riding, and many other the like.

Iren. You cannot but hold them sure to be very uncivill; for were they at the best that they were of old, when they were brought in, they should in so long an alteration of time seeme very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all England, was in the raigne of Henry the Second when Ireland was planted with English, very rude and barbarous, so as if the same should be now used in England by any, it would seeme worthy of sharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day since England grew civill: therefore in counting the evill customes of the English there, I will not have regard whether the beginning thereof were English or Irish, but will have respect onely to the inconvenience thereof. And first I have to finde fault with the abuse of language, that is, for the speaking of Irish among the English, which as it is unnaturall

the word by Spenfer on another occasion. [See vol. iii. p. 306]. The printed copies read *degenerated*. TODD.

ⁿ *as the proverbe there is.*] The Manuscripts belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Stafford add three "most pittifull examples of this sort," then existing; and the mention of them is made in very severe terms. They are "the Lord Bretingham, the great Mortimer, and the old Lord Courcie." TODD.

that any people should love anothers language more then their owne, so it is very inconvenient, and the cause of many other evils.

Eudox. It seemeth strange to me that the English should take more delight to speake that language then their owne, whereas they should (mee thinkes) rather take scorne to acquaint their tongues thereto: for it hath ever beene the use of the conquerour to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the Romans alwayes use, insomuch that there is almost no nation in the world, but is sprinckled with their language. It were good therefore (me seemes) to search out the originall cause of this evill; for, the same being discovered, a redresse thereof will the more easily be provided: For I thinke it very strange, that the English being so many, and the Irish so few, as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more unto their use.

Iren. I suppose that the cheife cause of bringing in the Irish language, amongst them, was specially their fostering, and marrying with the Irish, the which are two most dangerous infections; for first the childe that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of necessity learne his first speach of her, the which being the first inured to his tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him, insomuch as though hee afterwards be taught English, yet the smacke of the first will allwayes abide with him; and not onely of the speach, but also of the manners and conditions. For besides that yong children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them, especially by their nurses whom they love so well, they moreover drawe into themselves, together with their sucke, even the nature and disposition of their nurses: for the minde followeth much the temperature of the body; and also the words are the image of the minde, so as, they proceeding from the minde, the minde must needs be

affected with the words. So that the speech being Irish, the heart must needs bee Irish ; for out of the abundance of the heart, the tongue speaketh. The next is the marrying with the Irish, which how dangerous a thing it is in all common-wealthes appeareth to every simplest fence, and though some great ones have perhaps used such matches with their vassals, and have of them nevertheless raised worthy issue, as Telamon did with Tecmessa, Alexander the Great with Roxana, and Julius Cæsar with Cleopatra, yet the example is so perillous, as it is not to be adventured : for in stead of those few good, I could count unto them infinite many evill. And indeed how can such matching succeede well, seeing that commonly the childe taketh most of his nature of the mother, besides speech, manners, and inclynation, which are (for the most part) agreeable to the conditions of their mothers ? for by them they are first framed and fashioned, so as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are these evill customes of fostering and marrying with the Irish most carefully to be restrayned ; for of them two, the third evill, that is the custome of language (which I spake of) chiefly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not lawes already provided, for avoyding of this evill ?

Iren. Yes, I thinke there be, but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe statutes availe without penalties, or lawes without charge of execution ? for so there is another like law enacted against wearing of the Irish apparell, but neverthemore is it observed by any, or executed by them that have the charge : for they in their private discretions thinke it not fit to bee forced upon the poore wretches of that country, which are not worth the price of English apparell, nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the country

(say they) doth yeeld no better : and were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used, as namely, the mantle in travalling, because there be no Innes where meete bedding may be had, so that his mantle serves him then for a bed : the leather quilted jacke in journeying and in camping, for that is fittest to be under his shirt of mayle, and for any occasion of suddaine service, as there happen may, to cover his trouse on horsebacke : the great linnen roll, which the women weare, to keepe their heads warme after cutting their haire, which they use in sicknesse; besides their thicke folded linnen shirts, their longfleived smocks, their halfe-fleived coates, their silken fillets, and all the rest they will devise some colour for, either of necessity, or of antiquity, or of comelynesse.

Eudox. But what colour soever they alledge, mee thinkes it is not expedient, that the execution of a law once ordained should be left to the discretion of the judge, or officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, it should be fulfilled as well on English, as Irish.

Iren. But they thinke this precisenes in reformation of apparell not to be so materiall, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes surely but it is; for mens apparell is commonly made according to their conditions, and their conditions are oftentimes governed by their garments: for the person that is gowned is by his gowne put in minde of gravitie, and also restrained from lightnes by the very unaptnesse of his weed. Therefore it is written by Aristotle, that when Cyrus had overcome the Lydians that were a warlike nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable life, hee changed their apparell and musick, and in stead of their short warlike coat, cloathed them in long garments like women, and in stead of their warlike musick, appointed to them certaine lascivious layes, and loose jiggs, by which in short space their mindes were so mollified and abated, that they forgot their former

fierceneſſe, and became moſt tender and effeminate: whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioning of the minde and conditions. But be theſe, which you have deſcribed, the fashions of the Iriſh weedes?

Iren. No; all theſe which I have rehearſed to you, be not Iriſh garments, but Engliſh; for the quilted leather jack is old Engliſh; for it was the proper weed of the horſeman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he deſcribeth Sir Thopas apparell and armour, as hee went to fight againſt the gyant, in his robe of ſhecklato, which is that kind of guilded leather with which they uſe to imbroyder their Iriſh jackets. And there likewise by all that deſcription you may ſee the very fashion and manner of the Iriſh horſeman moſt truly ſet forth, in his long hoſe, his ryding ſhoes of coſtly cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjeon, with all the reſt thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I ſurely thought that the manner had bene Iriſh, for it is farre differing from that we have now; as alſo all the furniture of his horſe, his ſtrong braſſe bit, his flyding reynes, his ſhanke pillion without ſtirrappes, his manner of mounting, his fashion of ryding, his charging of his ſpeare aloft above head, the forme of his ſpeare.

Iren. No ſure; they be native Engliſh, and brought in by the Engliſhmen firſt into Ireland: neither is the ſame accounted an uncomely manner of ryding; for I have heard ſome great warriours ſay, that, in all the ſervices which they had ſeene abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never ſaw a more comely man then the Iriſh man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge: neither is his manner of mounting unſeemely, though hee lacke ſtirrappes, but more ready then with ſtirrappes; for in his getting up his horſe is ſtill going, whereby hee gayneth way. And therefore the ſtirrup was called ſo in ſcorne, as it were a ſtay to get up, being derived from the old Engliſh word ſty, which is, to get up, or mounte.

Eudox. It seemeth then that you finde no fault with this manner of ryding; why then would you have the quilted jacke laid away?

Iren. I doe not wish it to be laide away, but the abuse thereof to be put away; for being used to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a shirt of mayle, it is allowable, as also the shirt of mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie at home, and in townes and civile places, is a rude habite and most uncomely, seeming like a players painted coate.

Eudox. But it is worne (they say) likewise of Irish footmen; how doe you allow of that? for I should thinke it very unfeemely.

Iren. No, not as it is used in warre, for it is worne then likewise of footmen under their shirts of mayle, the which footmen they call Galloglasses,^o the which name doth discover them also to be auncient English, for *Gall-ogla* signifies an English servitour or yeoman. And he being so armed, in a long shirt of mayle downe to the calfe of his leg, with a long broad axe in his hand, was then *pedes gravis armaturæ*, and was instead of the armed footeman that now weareth a corslet, before the corslet was used, or almost invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you likewise allow in your strait reformation of old customes.

Iren. Both him and the kerne also (whom onely I take to bee the proper Irish souldier) can I allow, so that they use that habite and custome of theirs in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the service of their Prince, and not usually at home, and in civile places, and besides doe laye aside the evill and wilde uses which the galloglasse and kerne do use in their common trade of life.

^o *which footmen they call Galloglasses.*] See the note on *kern* [and *galloglass*], p. 361. TODD.

Eudox. What be those?

Iren. Marrie, those bee the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven; for, from the time that they enter into that course, they doe use all the beastly behaviour that may bee: they oppresse all men, they spoile aswell the subject as the enemy; they steale, they are cruell and bloodie, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution, licentious sweaters, and blasphemers, common ravishers of woemen, and murderers of children.

Eudox. These bee most villainous conditions; I marvelle then that they be ever used or imployed, or almost suffered to live: what good can there then be in them?

Iren. Yet sure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorers of death.

Eudox. Truly, by this that you say, it seemes that the Irishman is a very brave souldier.

Iren. Yea surely, in that rude kinde of service hee beareth himselfe very courageously. But when hee cometh to experience of service abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, hee maketh as worthie a souldiour as any nation hee meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turne againe to our discourse of evill customes among the Irish.

Eudox. Me thinkes, all this which you speake of, concerneth the customes of the Irish very materially; for their uses in warre are of no small importance to bee considered, aswell to reforme those which are evill, as to confirme and continue those which are good. But follow you your owne course, and shew what other their customes you have to dislike of.

Iren. There is amongst the Irish a certaine kind of people called Bardes, which are to them instead of poets,^p whose profession is to set foorth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rymes, the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for feare to runne into reproach thorough their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verses are taken up with a generall applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings, by certaine other persons whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them, which I would otherwise have thought to have beene worthy of good accompt, and rather to have beene maintained and augmented amongst them, then to have beene disliked? for I have reade that in all ages Poets have beene had in speciall reputation, and that (me thinkes) not without great cause; for besides their sweete inventions, and most wittie layes, they have alwayes used to set foorth the praises of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the bad and vitious. So that many brave yong mindes have oftentimes, thorough hearing the praises and famous eulogies of worthie men sung and reported unto them, beene stirred up to affect the like commendations, and so to strive to the like deserts. So they say that the Lacedemonians were more excited to desire of honour with the excellent verses of the Poet Tirtæus, then with

^p *Bardes, which are to them instead of poets.*] The reader, who would wish for all possible information on this point, cannot attain his object sooner than by consulting "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, interspersed with anecdotes of, and occasional observations on, the Music of Ireland: By Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M.R.I.A." Dublin, 1786. I recommend also, as a proper accompaniment to this ingenious work, the "Reliques of Ancient Irish Poetry," by Miss Brooke. TODD.

all the exhortations of their Captaines, or authority of their Rulers and Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true that such Poets as in their writings doe labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the sweete baite of their numbers, to steale into the young spirits a desire of honour and vertue, are worthy to bee had in great respect. But these Irish Bardes are for the most part of another minde, and so farre from instructing yong men in morall discipline; that they themselves doe more deserve to bee sharply disciplined; for they seldome use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomsoever they finde to be most licentious of life, most bolde and lawlesse in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorifie in their rithmes, him they praise to the people, and to yong men make an example to follow.

Eudox. I marvaile what kinde of speeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to praise such bad persons as live so lawleslie and licentiouslie upon stealthes and spoyles, as most of them doe; or how can they thinke that any good mind will applaude or approve the same?

Iren. There is none so bad, Eudoxus, but shall finde some to favour his doings; but such licentious partes as these, tending for the most part to the hurt of the English, or maintenance of their owne lewde libertie, they themselves, being most desirous therof, doe most allow. Besides this, evill things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may easily deceive and carry away the affection of a yong mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bolde adventures to make prooffe of himselfe; for being (as they all be brought up idly) without awe of parents, without precepts of mas-

ters, and without feare of offence, not being directed, nor imployed in any course of life, which may carry them to vertue, will easily be drawne to follow such as any shall set before them: for a yong minde cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some goodnesse, he will finde himselfe such businesse as shall soone busie all about him. In which if he shall finde any to praise him, and to give him encouragement, as those Bardes and rythmers doe for little reward, or a share of a stolne cow, then waxeth he most insolent and halfe madde with the love of himselfe, and his owne lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdnes, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to vertue it selfe. As of a most notorious thiefe and wicked out-law, which had lived all his life-time of spoyle and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise will say, That he was none of the idle milke-fops that was brought up by the fire side, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes and valiant enterprises; that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword; that he lay not all night flugging in a cabbin under his mantle, but used commonly to keepe others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses to leade him in the darknesse; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yeeld to him, but where he came he tooke by force the spoyle of other mens love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his musick was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the cries of people, and clashing of armor; and finally, that he died not bewayled of many, but made many waile when he died that dearly bought his death. Doe you not thinke (Eudoxus) that many of these praises might be applyed to men of best deserts? yet are they all yeelded to a most notable traytor, and amongst some

of the Irish not smally accounted of. For the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for fourty crownes.

Eudox. And well worthy sure! But tell me (I pray you) have they any art in their compositions? or bee they any thing wittie or well favoured, as poemes should be?

Iren. Yea truely; I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me that I might understand them; and surely they favoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry: yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowres of their naturall device, which gave good grace and comlineffe unto them, the which it is great pittie to see abused, to the gracing of wickednes and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorne and beautifie vertue. This evill custome therfore needeth reformation. And now next after the Irish Kerne, me thinks the Irish Horse-boys would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realme they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted is want of convenient innes for lodging of travellers on horseback, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shalbe reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed; for out of the fry of these rakehell horse-boys,^a growing up in knavery and villainy, are their kerne continually supplied and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made

^a *these rakehell horse-boys.*] These *base* or *outcast* horse-boys. Fr. *racaille*. See also F. Q. v. xi. 44 [vol. iv. p. 16]. Gabriel Harvey calls Greene "a rakehell, a makehifft, &c." "Foure Letters," &c. 1592. Sign. A. 2. b. TODD.

fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foule over-sight) are for the most part bred up amongst the Englishmen, of whom learning to shoote in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwards, when they become kerne, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this there is another much like, but much more lewde and dishonest; and that is, of their Carrows, which is a kinde of people that wander up and downe to Gentle-mens houses, living onely upon cardes and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their owne, yet they will play for much money, which if they winne, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose onely hurt is not, that they themselves are idle lossells, but that thorough gaming they draw others to like lewdnesse and idlenesse. And to these may be added another sort of like loose fellowes, which doe passe up and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Jesters, but are (indeed) notable rogues, and partakers not onely of many stealthes by setting forth other mens goods to be stolne, but also privy to many traitrous practices, and common carriers of newes, with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed: for they use commonly to send up and downe to knowe newes, and if any meet with another his second word is, What news? Infomuch that hereof is tolde a prettie jest of a French-man, who having beene sometimes in Ireland, where he marked their great inquirie for newes, and meeting afterwards in France an Irishman, whom hee knew in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily: O Sir, I pray you tell me of curtesie, have you heard any thing of the news that you so much inquired for in your countrey?

Eudox. This argueth sure in them a great desire of

innovation, and therefore these occasions which nourish the same must be taken away, as namely, those Jesters, Carrowes, Mona-shules,^r and all such straglers, for whom (me thinkes) the short riddance of a Marshall were meeter then an ordinance or prohibition to restrain them. Therefore (I pray you) leave all this rabblement of runnagates, and passe to other customes.

Iren. There is a great use amongst the Irish to make great assemblies together upon a rath or hill, there to parlie (as they say) about matters and wrongs betweene township and township, or one privat person and another. But well I wot, and true it hath beene oftentimes proved, that in their meetings many mischiefes have beene both practised and wrought; for to them doe commonly resort all the scumme of the people, where they may meete and conferre of what they list, which else they could not doe without suspition or knowledge of others. Besides, at these meetings I have knowne divers times, that many Englishmen, and good Irish subjects, have bin villanously murdered by moving one quarrell or another against them. For the Irish never come to those raths but armed, whether on horse or on foot, which the English nothing suspecting, are then commonly taken at advantage like sheep in the pin-folde.

Eudox. It may be (Iræneus) that abuse may be in those meetings. But these round hills and square bawnes,^s which you see so strongly trenched and throwne up, were (they say) at first ordained for the same purpose, that

^r *Mona-shules.*] This is the manuscript reading, and is correct. See *Mona-shul* in p. 360. The printed copies read *Mona-shutes*. *Shuler* is a common word for a beggar in Ireland. TODD.

^s *these round hills and square bawnes.*] *Bawn* is evidently used by Spenser for an *eminence*. Of its etymology our lexicographers give no account. TODD. Yet see Richardson's Dict. v. *bawn*, where he shews it to mean a habitation. *Bauen* is "to build" in German. C.

people might assemble themselves therein; and therefore aunciently they were called Folkmotes,^t that is, a place of people to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betweene parties and towneships, which seemeth yet to me very requisite.

Iren. You say very true, Eudoxus: the first making of these high hils were at first indeed to very good purpose for people to meet; but howsoever the times when they were first made might well serve to good occasions, as perhaps they did then in England, yet things being since altered, and now Ireland much differing from the state of England, the good use that then was of them is now turned to abuse; for those hills wherof you speak were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for 2 special uses, and built by 2 severall nations. The one is that which you call Folk-motes, which were built by the Saxons, as the word bewraieth; for it signifieth in Saxon a meeting of folk, and these are for the most part in forme foure square, well intrenched: the others that were round were cast up by the Danes, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called Danes-raths, that is, hills of the Danes, the which were by them devised, not for treaties and parlies, but appointed as fortes for them to gather unto in troublesome time, when any trouble arose; for the Danes, being but a few in comparison of the Saxons^u (in England) used this for their safety: they made those small round hills, so strongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the night, or any other time, any troublous cry or uproare should happen, they might repaire with all speed unto their

^t *Folkmotes.*] Vid. Hen. Spelmanni Glossarium. SIR JAMES WARE. Junius gives the etymology of "folk" as A. S. *fylgan*, to follow. C.

^u *Saxons.*] The like reason may be given for the making of such rathes in Ireland by the Danes or Norwegians. Vid. Gir. Cambr. topog. Hib. distinct. 3. cap. 37. SIR JAMES WARE.

owne fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remaine safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater strength: for they were made so strong, with one small entrance, that whosoever came thither first, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there rest safe, and defend themselves against many, till more succour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a sufficient number they marched to the next fort, and so forward till they met with the perill, or knew the occasions thereof. But besides these two sorts of hills, there were anciently divers others; for some were raised, where there had been a great battle fought, as a memory or trophie thereof; others, as monuments of burials of the carcasses of all those that were slaine in any field, upon whom they did throwe such round mounts, as memorialls of them, and sometimes did cast up great heapes of stones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture,) and other whiles they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long stones on end in compasse, every of which (they say) betokened some person of note there slaine and buried; for this was their auncient custome, before Christianity came in amongst them that church-yards were inclosed.

Eudox. You have very well declared the originall of their mounts and great stones incompassed, which some vainely terme the ould Gyants Trevetts, and thinke that those huge stones would not else be brought into order or reared up without the strength of gyants. And others vainely thinke that they were never placed there by mans hand or art, but onely remained there so since the beginning, and were afterwards discovered by the deluge, and laide open as then by the washing of the waters, or other like casualty. But let them dreame their owne imaginations to please themselves; you have satisfied me much

better, both for that I see some confirmation thereof in the Holy Writt, and also remember that I have read in many Historyes and Chronicles the like mounts and stones oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great authorities (I assure you) to prove the same; but as for these meetings on hills, whereof we were speaking, it is very inconvenient that any such should be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needefull (me thinkes) for many other purposes, as for the countreyes to gather together when there is any imposition to be laide upon them, to the which they then may all agree at such meetings to devide upon themselves, according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at these assemblies there be any officers, as Constables, Bayliffes, or such like amongst them, there can be no perill or doubt of such bad practises.

Iren. Neverthelesse, dangerous are such assemblies, whether for cesse or ought else, the Constables and Officers being also of the Irish; and if any of the English happen to be there, even to them they may prove perilous. Therefore for avoyding of all such evill occasions, they were best to be abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call cesse? it is a word sure unused among us here, therefore (I pray you) expound the same.

Iren. Cesse is none other then that which your selfe called imposition, but it is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are cesses of fundry sorts; one is, the cessing of souldiours upon the countrey; for Ireland being a countrey of warre (as it is handled) and alwayes full of souldiours, they which have the government, whether they finde it the most ease to the Queenes purse, or the most ready meanes at hand for victualing of the souldiour, or that necessity inforceth them thereunto, do

scatter the army abroad in the countrey, and place them in villages to take their victuals of them, at such vacant times as they lye not in campe, nor are otherwise imployed in service. Another kinde of cesse, is the imposing of provision for the Governors house-keeping, which though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoyding of all the evils formerly therein used) lately brought to a composition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no lesse then here in England, or rather much more. The like cesse is also charged upon the countrey sometimes for victualling of the souldiours, when they lye in garrison, at such times as there is none remayning in the Queenes store, or that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed when necessity thereto compelleth; but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtfull and offensive to the poore country, and nothing convenient for the souldiers themselves, who, during their lying at cesse, use all kinde of outrageous disorder and villany, both towards the poore men which victuall and lodge them, as also to all the country round about them, whom they abuse, oppresse, spoyle, and afflict by all the meanes they can invent: for they will not onely not content themselves with such victuals as their hostes, nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meate provided for them, and *aqua vita* sent for; yea and money besides laide at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the house they walk with the wretched poore man and his filly wife, who are glad to purchase their peace with any thing. By which vile manner of abuse, the countrey people, yea and the very English which dwell abroad and see, and sometimes feele this outrage, growe into great detestation of the souldiours, and thereby into hatred of the very government, which draweth upon them such evils: And there-

fore this you may also joyne unto the former evill customes which we have to reprove in Ireland.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the least, and though the persons, by whom it is used be of better note then the former roguish sort which you reckoned, yet the fault (me thinkes) is no lesse worthy of a Marshall.

Iren. That were a harder course, Eudoxus, to redresse every abuse by a Marshall: it would seeme to you very evill surgery to cut off every unsound or sicke part of the body, which, being by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good service to the body againe, and haply helpe to save the whole: Therefore I thinke better that some good salve for the redresse of the evill bee sought forth, then the least part suffered to perish; but hereof wee have to speake in another place. Now we will proceede to other like defects, amongst which there is one generall inconvenience which raigneth almost throughout all Ireland: that is, the Lords of land and Free-holders, doe not there use to set out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure; neither indeede will the Irish tennant or husbandman otherwise take his land then so long as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the land-lords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tearme, or thinketh by his continuall liberty of change to keepe his land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the land-lord will no longer covenant with him is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds.

Eudox. But what evill commeth hereby to the common-wealth? or what reason is it that any landlord

should not fet, nor any tennant take his land as himfelfe lift?

Iren. Marry, the evils which commeth hereby are great, for by this meanes both the land-lord thinketh that he hath his tennant more at commaund, to follow him into what action foever hee shall enter, and alfo the tennant, being left at his liberty, is fit for every occafion of change that fhall be offered by time: and fo much alfo the more ready and willing is he to runne into the fame, for that hee hath no fuch ftate in any his houlding, no fuch building upon any farme, no fuch cofte employed in fenfing or husbanding the fame, as might with-hold him from any fuch wilfull courfe, as his lords caufe, or his owne lewde difpofition may carry him unto. All which hee hath forborne, and fpared fo much expence, for that he had no firme eftate in his tenement, but was onely a tennant at will or little more, and fo at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reafon enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, againft the private behoofe or will of any landlord that fhall refufe to graunt any fuch terme or eftate unto his tennant as may tende to the good of the whole realme.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it is a great willfullnefs in any fuch land-lord to refufe to make any longer farmes unto their tennants, as may, befides the generall good of the realme, be alfo greatly for their owne profit and availe: For what reafonable man will not thinke that the tenement fhall be made much better for the lords behoofe, if the tennant may by fuch good meanes bee drawne to build himfelfe fome handsome habitation thereon, to ditch and inclofe his ground, to manure and husband it as good farmours ufe? For when his tennants terme fhall be expired, it will yeeld him, in the renewing his leafe, both a good fine, and alfo a better rent. And alfo it fhall be for the good of the tennant likewise, who by fuch buildings

and inclosures shall receive many benefits: first, by the handsomenesse of his house, he shall take more comfort of his life, more safe dwelling, and a delight to keepe his said house neate and cleanly, which now being, as they commonly are, rather swyne-styes then houses, is the cheifest cause of his so beastly manner of life, and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast in one house, in one roome, in one bed, that is, cleane strawe, or rather a foul dunghill. And to all these other commodities hee shall in short time find a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches increased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keeping his cattle in inclosures, where they shall alwayes have fresh pasture, that now is all trampled and over-runne; warme covert, that now lyeth open to all weather; safe being, that now are continually filched and stolne.

Iren. You have, Eudoxus, well accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongst which this that you named last is not the least; for all the other being most beneficiall to the land-lord and tennant, this cheifly redoundeth to the good of the common-wealth, to have the land thus inclosed, and well fenced. For it is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theeves from stealing of cattle in the night, and also a gaule against all rebels, and outlawes, that shall rise up in any numbers against the government; for the theife thereby shall have much adoe, first to bring forth, and afterwards to drive away his stolne prey but thorough the common high wayes, where he shall soone bee descryed and met withall: And the rebell or open enemy, if any such shall happen, either at home, or from abroad, shall easily be found when he commeth forth, and also be well incountered withall by a few in so straight passages and strong inclosures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all those evill customes before mentioned, is needefull to be re-

membred. But now by this time me thinkes that I have well run thorough the evill uses which I have observed in Ireland. Neverthelesse I well wote that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private abuses of men. But these that are most generall, and tending to the hurt of the common-weale (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as breifly as I could rehearsed unto you. And therefore now I thinke best that we passe unto our third part, in which we noted inconveniences that are in religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled these two former, and if yee shall as well goe thorough the third likewise, you shall merit a very good meed.

Iren. Little have I to say of religion, both because the parts thereof be not many, (it selfe being but one) and my selfe have not much beene conversant in that calling, but as lightly passing by I have seene or heard: Therefore the fault which I finde in religion is but one, but the same is universall thoroughout all that country; that is, that they be all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, (for the most part) that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but can perhaps say his Pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. Is it not then a little blot to them that now hold the place of government, that they which now are in the light themselves suffer a people under their charge to wallow in such deadly darkenesse?

Iren. That which you blame, Eudox., is not (I suppose) any fault of will in those godly fathers which have charge thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realme hath continually been turmoyled; for instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we seeke to settle a found

discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity, for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard, or rather impossible, it is to settle a good opinion in the mindes of men for matters of religion doubtfull, which have doubtlesse an evill opinion of us; for ere a new be brought in, the old must be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meete that some fitter time be attended, that God send peace and quietnesse there in civill matters before it be attempted in ecclesiasticall. I would rather have thought that (as it is said) correction must first begin at the house of God, and that the care of the soule should have beene preferred before the care of the body.

Iren. Most true, Eudoxus, the care of the soule and soule matters is to be preferred before the care of the body in consideration of the worthynesse thereof, but not till the time of reformation; for if you should know a wicked person dangerously sicke, having now both soule and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertisement to bring the preacher before the phisician? for if his body were neglected, it is like that his languishing soule being disquieted by his diseasedfull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort; but if his body were first recured, and brought to good frame, should there not then be found best time to recover the soule also? So it is in the state of a realme: Therefore (as I said) it is expedient, first to settle such a course of government there, as thereby both civill disorders and ecclesiasticall abuses may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any such great distance of times, as (you suppose) I require, but one joint resolution for both, that each might second and confirm the other.

Eudox. That we shall see when we come thereunto: in the meane time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the generall fault which you suppose

in religion, to wit, that it is popish; but doe you finde no particular abuses therein, nor in the ministers thereof?

Iren. Yes verily; for what ever disorders you see in the Church of England yee may finde there, and many more: Namely, grosse simony, greedy covetousnesse, fleshly incontineney, carelesse sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman. And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy the church livings, they are in a manner meere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise they doe go and live like lay men, follow all kinde of husbandry, and other worldly affaires, as other Irish men doe. They neither read scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion; but baptisme they doe, for they christen yet after the popish fashion, onely they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruite else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly, and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their Bishops (I speake of those which are Irish) as they receive them duely.

Eudox. But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder but that the governours doe redresse such shamefull abuses.

Iren. How can they, since they know them not? for the Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complaine of them, so as they may doe to them what they please, for they, knowing their owne unworthynesse and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removeable at their bishops will, yeeld what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth: yea, and some of them whose diocesess are in remote parts, somewhat out of the worlds eye, doe not at all bestow the benefices, which are in their owne donation, upon any, but keep them in their owne hands, and set

their owne servants and horſe-boyes to take up the tithes and fruites of them, with the which ſome of them purchaſe great lands, and build faire caſtles upon the ſame. Of which abuſe if any queſtion be moved they have a very ſeemely colour and excuſe, that they have no worthy miniſters to beſtow them upon, but keepe them ſo beſtowed for any ſuch ſufficient perſon as any ſhall bring unto them.

Eudox. But is there no law, nor ordinance to meet with this miſchiefe? nor hath it never before beene looked into?

Iren. Yes, it ſeemes it hath; for there is a ſtatute there enacted in Ireland, which ſeemes to have beene grounded upon a good meaning—That whatſoever Engliſhman, of good converſation and ſufficiencie, ſhall bee brought unto any of the biſhoppes, and nominated unto any living within their dioceſſe that is preſently voyde, that he ſhall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any Iriſh.

Eudox. This is ſurely a very good law, and well provided for this evill, whereof you ſpeake; but why is not the ſame obſerved?

Iren. I thinke it is well obſerved, and that none of the biſhops tranſgreſſe the ſame, but yet it worketh no reformation thereof for many defects. Firſt there are no ſuch ſufficient Engliſh miniſters ſent over as might be preſented to any biſhop for any living, but the moſt part of ſuch Engliſh as come over thither of themſelves are either unlearned, or men of ſome bad note, for which they have forſaken England. So as the biſhop, to whom they ſhalbe preſented, may juſtly reject them as incapable and inſufficient. Secondly, the biſhop himſelfe is perhappes an Iriſh man, who being made judge by that law of the ſufficiencie of the miniſters, may at his owne will, diſlike of the Engliſhman, as unworthy in his

opinion, and admit of any Irish whom hee shall thinke more for his turne. And if hee shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whom hee will not displease, accept of any such English minister as shall bee tendred unto him, yet hee will under hand carry such a hard hand over him, or by his officers wring him so fore, that hee will soone make him weary of his poore living. Lastly, the benefices themselves are so meane, and of so small profite in those Irish countreyes, thorough the ill husbandrie of the Irish people which doe inhabite them, that they will not yeelde any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gowne. And were all this redressed (as haply it might bee) yet what good should any English minister doe amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them which either cannot understand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life shall he have, where his parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usuall bee to all the English? or finally, how dare almost any honest minister, that are peaceable civill men, commit his safetie to the handes of such neighbours, as the boldest captaines dare scarcely dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then (I see) was by that statute wrought, how ever well intended; but the reformation thereof must grow higher, and be brought from a stronger ordinance then the commaundement or penaltie of a law, which none dare informe or complain of when it is broken: but have you any more of those abuses in the clergy?

Iren. I could perhappes reckon more, but I perceive my speech to grow too long, and these may suffice to judge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them; as for the particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the clergy there (excepting the grave

fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their new Colledge,^x) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

Eudox. You have then (as I suppose) gone thorough those three first parts which you proposed unto your selfe; to wit, the inconveniences which you observed in the lawes, in the customes, and in the religion of that land. The which (me thinkes) you have so thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as you suppose, that nothing can remaine, but so generally as I purposed; that is, to lay open the generall evils of that realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof: for to count the particular faults of private men should be a worke too infinite; yet some there be of that nature, that though they be in private men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurt, as the extortion of sheriffs, and their sub-sheriffs, and bayliffes, the corruption of victuallers, cessors, and purveyors, the disorders of seneschalls,^y captaines, and their souldiers, and many such like: All which I will onely name here, that their reformation may bee mended in place where it most concerneth. But there is one very foule abuse which, by the way, I may not omit, and that is in captaines, who, notwithstanding that they are specially imployed to make peace thorough strong execution of warre, yet they doe so dandle their doings,

^x *new Colledge.*] Trinity Colledge by Dublin, which was founded by Queene Eliz. 3 Martij 1591. The 13. of the same moneth, its first stone was laide by Thomas Smyth, then Mayor of Dublin, and the 9. of Jan. 1593. it first admitted students. SIR JAMES WARE.

^y *the disorders of seneschalls.*] *Governours.* See F. Q. iv. i. 12 [vol. iii. p. 90]; v. x. 30 [vol. iii. p. 473]; vi. i. 15, 25 [vol. iv. pp. 47, 50]. TODD. The etymology of "seneschall" has given trouble, but it is from Gothic words meaning *seniors* and *servus*. C.

and dallie in the service to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy subdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare lest afterwarde they should need employment, and so be discharged of pay : for which cause some of them that are layde in garrison doe so handle the matter, that they will doe no great hurt to the enemies, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even halfe with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heads eftsoones they send to the governor for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a service they performed by cutting off such and such dangerous rebels.

Eudox. Truely this is a prettie mockerie, and not to be permitted by the governours.

Iren. But how can the governour know readily what persons those were, and what the purpose of their killing was ? yea, and what will you say, if the captaines do justifie this their course by ensample of some of their governours, which (under Benedicite, I doe tell it to you,) doe practise the like sleight in their governments ?

Eudox. Is it possible ? Take heed what you say, Irenæus.

Iren. To you onely, Eudoxus, I doe tell it, and that even with great hearts griefe, and inward trouble of mind to see her Majestie so much abused by some who are put in speciall trust of those great affaires : of which some, being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at some faults, and will suffer them unpunished, lest that (having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might) they should seeme afterwards not be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her Majestie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another doe bandie the service like a tennis-ball, which they will

never strike quite away, for feare left afterwards they should want.

Eudox. Doe you speake of under magistrates, Irenæus, or principall governours?

Iren. I doe speake of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by tryall and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say there is some blame thereof in the principall governours, I thinke I might also shew some reasonable prooffe of my speech. As for example, some of them seeing the end of their government to draw nigh, and some mischiefes and troublous practice growing up, which afterwarde may worke trouble to the next succeeding governour, will not attempt the redresse or cutting off thereof, either for feare they should leave the realme unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that commeth should receive the same too quiet, and so happily winne more prayse thereof then they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seeke at all to repress that evill, but will either by graunting protection for a time, or holding some emparlance with the rebell, or by treatie of commissioners, or by other like devices, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischief, so as it may not breake out in their time of government: what comes afterwards they care not, or rather wish the worst. This course hath beene noted in some governors.

Eudox. Surely (Irenæus) this, if it were true, should bee worthy of an heavy judgment: but it is hardly to bee thought, that any governour should so much either envie the good of that realme which is put into his hand, or defraude her Majestie, who trusteth him so much, or maligne his successour which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to grow up, which he might timely have kept under, or perhaps to nourish it with coloured countenance, or such sinister meanes.

Iren. I doe not certainly avouch so much, (Eudoxus) but the sequele of things doth in a manner proove, and plainly speake so much, that the governours usually are envious one of anothers greater glory, which if they would seeke to excell by better governing, it should be a most laudable emulation. But they doe quite otherwise: for this (as you may marke) is the common order of them, that who commeth next in place will not follow that course of government, how ever good, which his predecessors held, either for disdaine of himselfe, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another mans praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Irish) to reforme them, the next, by discountenancing the English will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seeme plausible, as having all the Irish at his commaund: but he that comes after will perhappes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as hee will sucke sweete out of them both, and leave bitternesse to the poore countrey, which if he that comes after shall seeke to redresse, he shall perhappes find such crosses as hee shall hardly bee able to beare, or doe any good that might worke the disgrace of his predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the governours of late times sufficiently, and in others of former times more manifestly, when the government of that realme was committed sometimes to the Geraldines, as when the House of Yorke had the Crowne of England; sometimes to the Butlers, as when the House of Lancaster got the same. And other whiles, when an English governour was appointed, hee perhappes found enemies of both.

Eudox. I am sorry to heare so much as you report; and now I begin to conceive somewhat more of the cause of her continuall wretchednes then heeretofore I found,

and wish that this inconvenience were well looked into: for sure (me thinkes) it is more weightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redressed in the governor then in the governed; as a malady in a vitall part is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You say very true; but now that we have thus ended all the abuses and inconveniences of that government, which was our first part, it followeth now that we passe unto the second part, which was of the meanes to cure and redresse the same, which wee must labour to reduce to the first beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right so, Irenæus: for by that which I have noted in all this your discourse you suppose that the whole ordinance and institution of that realmes government was, both at first when it was placed, evill plotted, and also sithence, thorough other over-sights, came more out of square to that disorder which it is now come unto; like as two indirect lines, the further that they are drawne out, the further they goe asunder.

Iren. I doe see, Eudoxus, and as you say, so thinke, that the longer that government thus continueth, in the worse course will the realme be; for it is all in vaine that they now strive and endeavour by faire meanes and peaceable plotts to redresse the same, without first removing all those inconveniences, and new framing (as it were in the forge) all that is worne out of fashion: For all other meanes will be but as lost labour, by patching up one hole to make many; for the Irish doe strongly hate and abhorre all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that, having beene once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. So as now they feare, that if they were againe brought under, they should be likewise expelled out of all, which is the cause that they hate the English government, according to the saying, "Quem

metuunt oderunt :” Therefore the reformation must now bee the strength of a greater power.

Eudox. But, me thinkes, that might be by making of good lawes, and establisshing of new statutes, with sharpe penalties and punishments for amending of all that is presently amisse, and not (as you suppose) to beginne all as it were anew, and to alter the whole forme of the government; which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt you your selfe must needes confesse, and they which have the managing of the realmes whole policy, cannot, without great cause, feare and refraine: for all innovation is perillous, insomuch as though it bee meant for the better, yet so many accidents and fearefull events may come betweene, as that it may hazard the losse of the whole.

Iren. Very true, Eudoxus; all change is to be shunned, where the affaires stand in such sort as that they may continue in quietnes, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the realme of Ireland we see much otherwise, for every day wee perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, insomuch as there is no part now found or ascertained, but all have their eares upright, wayting when the watch-word shall come that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I thinke the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunitie, which truly is the death of one noble person,^z who, being himselfe most stedfast to his soveraigne Queene and his countrey, coasting upon the South-Sea, stoppeth the ingate^a of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth

^z of one noble person.] Meaning [probably] Sir Walter Raleigh. TODD.

^a stoppeth the ingate.] Entrance. Again; “Those two cities do offer an ingate to the Spaniard most fitly.” See also F. Q. iv. x. 12 [vol. iii. p. 254]. TODD.

in all those which are at his becke, with the terrour of his greatnesse, and the assurance of his most immoveable loyalty: And therefore where you thinke, that good and sound lawes might amend, and reforme things there amisse, you think surely amisse. For it is vaine to prescribe lawes, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the daunger for breaking of them. But all the realme is first to be reformed, and lawes are afterwards to bee made for keeping and continuing it in that reformed estate.

Eudox. How then doe you think is the reformation thereof to be begunne, if not by lawes and ordinances?

Iren. Even by the sword; for all these evils must first be cut away by a strong hand, before any good can bee planted; like as the corrupt braunches and unwholesome boughs are first to bee pruned, and the foule mosse cleaned and scraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite.

Eudox. Did you blame me, even now, for wishing of Kerne, Horse-boyes, and Carrowes to be cleane cut off, as too violent a meanes, and doe you your selfe now prescribe the same medicine? Is not the sword the most violent redresse that may bee used for any evill?

Iren. It is so; but where no other remedie may bee devised, nor hope of recovery had, there must needs this violent meanes bee used. As for the loose kinde of people which you would have cut off, I blamed it, for that they might otherwise perhaps bee brought to good, as namely by this way which I set before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former, in effect, which you found fault with, save onely this odds, that I said by the halter, and you say by the sword? what difference is there?

Iren. There is surely great, when you shall understand it; for by the sword, which I named, I did not meane the

cutting off all that nation with the sword, which farre bee it from mee, that I should ever thinke so desperately, or wish so uncharitably, but by the sword I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretch it selfe forth in the chiefeft strength to the redressing and cutting off those evills, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people by good ordinances and government may be made good; but the evill that is of it selfe evill will never become good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your minde at large, how you would wish that sword, which you mean, to be used to the reformation of all those evills.

Iren. The first thing must be to send over into that realme such a strong power of men, as should perforce bring in all that rebellious route and loose people, which either doe now stand out in open armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woods, spoyling the good subjects.

Eudox. You speake now, Irenæus, of an infinite charge to her Majestie, to send over such an army as should tread downe all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land; for there is now but one outlaw of any great reckoning, to wit, the Earle of Tyrone, abroad in armes, against whom you see what huge charges shee hath beene at this last yeare, in sending of men, providing of victualls, and making head against him: yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treasure spent, her people wasted, the poor countrey troubled, and the enemy neverthelesse brought into no more subjection then he was, or list outwardly to shew, which in effect is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and emboldening of a proud rebell, and an encouragement to all like lewdlie disposed traytors that shall dare to lift up their heele against their Sovereigne Lady. Therefore it were

hard counsell to drawe such an exceeding great charge upon her, whose event should be so uncertaine.

Iren. True indeede, if the event should bee uncertaine; but the certainty of the effect hereof shall be so infallible as that no reason can gainesay it, neither shall the charge of all this army (the which I demaund) be much greater then so much as in these last two yeares warres hath vainely been expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath coste the Queene above 200000 pounds already, and for the present charge, that she is now at there, amounteth to veryneere 12000 pounds a moneth, whereof cast you the accompt; yet nothing is done. The which summe, had it beene employed as it should bee, would have effected all this which now I goe about.

Eudox. How meane you to have it imployed, but to beespent in the pay of souldiours, and provision of victualls?

Iren. Right so, but it is now not disbursed at once, as it might be, but drawne out into a long length, by sending over now 20000 pounds, and next halfe yeare 10000 pounds; so as the souldiour in the meane time, for want of due provision of victual, and good payment of his due, is starved and consumed; that of a 1000, which came over lusty able men, in halfe a yeare there are not left 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never a whit the lesse, but what is not payd in present mony is accounted in debt, which will not be long unpayd; for the Captaine, halfe of whose souldiours are dead, and the other quarter never mustered, nor seene, comes shortly to demand payment of his whole accompt, where, by good meanes of some great ones, and privy shareings with the officers and servants of other some, hee receiveth his debt, much lesse perhaps then was due, yet much more indeede then he justly deserved.

Eudox. I take this, sure, to be no good husbandry; for what must needs be spent, as good spend it at once, where

is enough, as to have it drawne out into long delayes, seeing that thereby both the service is much hindred, and yet nothing saved: but it may be, Irenæus, that the Queenes treasure in so great occasions of disbursements (as it is well knowne she hath beene at lately) is not alwayes so ready, nor so plentifull, as it can spare so great a summe together, but being payed as it is, now some and then some, it is no great burthen unto her, nor any great impoverishment to her coffers, seeing by such delay of time, it dailie cometh in as fast as she parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you say, but for the going thorough of so honorable a course I doubt not but if the Queenes coffers be not so well stored, (which we are not to looke into) but that the whole realme which now, as things are used, doefeele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hanging upon their backes, would, for a small riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all; and put to all their shoulders, and helping hands, and hearts also, to the defraying of that charge, most gladly and willingly; and surely the charge, in effect, is nothing to the infinite great good which should come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generally, as when time serveth shall be shewed.

Eudox. How many men would you require to the furnishing of this which yee take in hand? and how long space would you have them entertained?

Iren. Verily, not above 10000 footemen, and a 1000 horse, and all these not above the space of a yeare and a halfe; for I would still, as the heate of the service abateth, abate the number in pay, and make other provision for them, as I will shew.

Eudox. Surely, it seemeth not much which you require, nor no long time; but how would you have them used? would you leade forth your army against the enemy, and seeke him where he is to fight?

Iren. No, Eudoxus; that would not be, for it is well knowne that he is a flyingemie, hiding himselfe in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into some straight passage or perillous foord, where he knowes the army must needes passe; there will he lye in waite, and, if hee finde advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled souldiour. Therefore to seeke him out that still flitteth, and follow him that can hardly bee found, were vaine and bootlesse; but I would deuide my men in garrison upon his countrey, in such places as I should thinke might most annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be, Irenæus, with so few men? for the enemy, as you now see, is not all in one countrey, but some in Ulster, some in Connaught, and others in Leinster. So as to plant strong garrisons in all those places should need manye more men then you speake of, or to plant all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the spoyle.

Iren. I would wish the cheife power of the army to be garrisoned in one countrey that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that is weakest: As for example, the Earle of Tyrone is now accompted the strongest; upon him would I lay 8000 men in garrison, 1000 upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 upon some parts of Connaught, to be at the direction of the Governour.

Eudox. I see now all your men bestowed, but what places would you set their garrison that they might rise out most conveniently to service? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet I will take the mappe of Ireland, and lay it before me, and make mine eyes (in the meane time) my schoole-masters, to guide my understanding to judge of your plot.

Iren. Those eight thousand in Ulster I would deuide likewise into foure parts, so as there should be 2000 footemen in every garrison; the which I would thus place.

Upon the Blacke water, in some convenient place, as high upon the river as might be, I would lay one garrison. Another would I put at Castle-liffer, or thereabouts, so as they should have all the passages upon the river to Loughfoyle. The third I would place about Fermanagh or Bundroife, so as they might lye betweene Connaght and Ulster, to serve upon both sides, as occasion shall be offered; and this therefore would I have stronger than any of the rest, because it should be most enforced, and most employed, and that they might put wardes at Balli-fhanon and Belick, and all those passages. The last would I set about Monaghan or Balturbut, so as it should fronte both upon the enemy that way, and also keepe the countreys of Cavan and Meath in awe from passage of straglers from those parts, whence they use to come forth, and oftentimes use to worke much mischief. And to every of these garrisons of 2000. footemen I would have 200. horsemen added, for the one without the other can doe but little service. The 4 garrisons, thus being placed, I would have to bee victualled before hand for halfe a yeare, which you will say to be hard, considering the corruption and usuall waste of victualls. But why should not they be aswell victualled for so long time, as the ships are usually for a yeare, and sometimes two, seeing it is easier to keepe victual on land then water? Their bread I would have in flower, so as it might be baked still to serve their necessary want. Their beere there also brewed within them, from time to time, and their beefe before hand bared, the which may bee used but as it is needed; for I make no doubt but fresh victualls they will sometimes purvey for themselves amongst their enemies. Hereunto likewise would I have them have a store of hose and shooes, with such other necessities as may be needefull for souldiours, so as they shall have no occasion to looke for releife from abroad, or occasion of such trouble, for

their continuall supply, as I see and have often proved in Ireland to bee more cumberous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that releive them, then halfe the leading of an army; for the enemy, knowing the ordinary wayes thorough the which their releife must be brought them, useth commonly to draw himselfe into the straight passages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerously distresse them: besides, the pay of such force as should be sent for their convoy, the charge of the carriages, the exactions of the countrey shall be spared. But onely every halfe yeare the supply brought by the Deputy himselfe, and his power, who shall then visite and overlooke all those garrisons, to see what is needefull, to change what is expedient, and to direct what hee shall best advise. And those 4 garrisons issuing forth, at such convenient times as they shall have intelligence or espiall upon the enemy, will so drive him from one side to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall finde no where safe to keepe his creete in, nor hide himselfe, but flying from the fire shall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in short space his creete, which is his cheife sustenance, shall be wasted with preying, or killed with driving, or starved for want of pasture in the woods, and he himselfe brought so lowe, that he shall have no heart nor ability to indure his wretchednesse, the which will surely come to passe in very short time; for one winter well followed upon him will so plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to stand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter time fittest for the services of Ireland? how falls it then that our most imployments bee in summer, and the armies then led commonly forth?

Iren. It is surely misconceived; for it is not with Ireland as it is with other countryes, where the warres flame most in summer, and the helmets glister brightest in the fairest

sunshine : But in Ireland the winter yeeldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloathe and house the kerne ; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding ; the aire is sharpe and bitter to blowe thorough his naked sides and legges ; the kyne are barren and without milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them, will they yeeld him flesh, nor if he keepe them will they give him food ; besides being all with calfe (for the most part) they will, thorough much chafing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose their milke, which should releive him the next summer.

Eudox. I doe well understand your reason ; but, by your leave, I have heard it otherwise said, of some that were outlawes, that in summer they kept themselves quiet, but in winter they would play their parts, and when the nights were longest, then burne and spoyle most, so that they might safely returne before day.

Iren. I have likewise heard, and also seene prooffe thereof true : But that was of such outlawes as were either abiding in well inhabited countryes, as in Mounster, or bordering on the English pale, as Feagh Mac Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Moors, the Dempfies, or such like : For for them the winter indeede is the fittest time for spoyling and robbing, because the nights are then (as you said) longest and darkest, and also the countryes round about are then most full of corne, and good provision to be gotten every where by them ; but it is farre otherwise with a strong peopled enemy, that possesse a whole country, for the other being but a few, and indeede privily lodged, and kept in out villages, and corners nigh to the woodes and mountaines, by some of their privy friends, to whom they bring their spoyles and stealthes, and of whom they continually receive secret releife ; but the open enemy having all his country wasted, what by himselfe,

and what by the fouldiours, findeth them succour in no place. Townes there are none of which he may get spoyle, they are all burnt: bread he hath none, he ploweth not in summer; Flesh he hath, but if he kill it in winter, he shall want milke in summer, and shortly want life. Therefore if they bee well followed but one winter, you shall have little worke with them the next summer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceive the difference, and doe verily thinke that the winter time is there fittest for service: withall I conceive the manner of your handling of the service, by drawing suddaine draughts upon the enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch advantages upon him as hee doth upon you. By which straight keeping of them in, and not suffering them at any time long to rest, I must needs thinke that they will soone be brought lowe, and driven to great extreamities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very last cast, suppose that they will offer, either to come to you and submit themselves, or that some of them will seeke to withdraw themselves, what is your advice to doe? will you have them received?

Iren. No; but at the beginning of those warres, and when the garrisons are well planted and fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made generally to come to their knowledge:—That what persons foever would within twenty dayes absolutely submit themselves, (excepting onely the very principalls and ring-leaders) should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the settling of these garrisons, such a terrour and neere consideration of their perillous state would be stricken into most of them, that they will covet to drawe away from their leaders. And againe I well know that the rebells themselves (as I saw by prooffe in Desmonds warre) will turne away all their rascall people, whom they thinke unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, (which they call churles,) which

would onely waste their victualls, and yeeld them no ayde ; but their cattle they will surely keepe away : These therefore though policy would turne them backe againe, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other rebells, yet in a pittypfull commiseration I would wish them to be received ; the rather for that this sort of base people doth not for the most part rebell of themselves, having no heart thereunto, but are by force drawne by the grand rebells into their action, and carryed away with the violence of the streame, else they should be sure to loose all that they have, and perhaps their lives too ; the which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong rebells themselves soone turned out of all, so that the constraint hereof may in them deserve pardon. Likewise if any of their able men or gentlemen shall then offer to come away, and to bring their cattle with them, as some no doubt may steale them away privily, I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the enemy, but withall, that good assurance may be taken of their true behaviour and absolute submission, and that then they be not suffered to remaine any longer in those parts, no nor about the garrisons, but sent away into the inner parts of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily returne if they would : For if they might bee suffered to remaine about the garrisons, and there inhabite, as they will offer to till the ground, and yeeld a great part of the profit thereof, and of their cattle, to the Coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience knowne) bee ever after such a gaule and inconvenience to them, as that their profit shall not recompence their hurt ; for they will privily releive their friends that are forth ; they will send the enemy secret advertizements of all their purposes and journeyes which they meane to make upon them ; they will not also sticke to drawe the

enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the forte it felfe, by difcovery of all her defects and difadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throates. For avoiding whereof and many other inconveniences, I wifh that they fhould be carried farre from thence into fome other parts, fo that (as I fay) they come in and fubmit themfelves, upon the firft fummons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end: my reason is, for that thofe which will afterwards remaine without are ftout and obftinate rebels, fuch as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill converfation, having once tafted that licentious life, and being acquainted with fpoyle and outrages, will ever after be ready for the like occafions, fo as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needefull to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of fuch desperate perfons, as will follow the courfe of their owne folly, there is no compaffion to bee had, and for others you have propofed a mercifull meanes, much more then they have deserved: but what then fhall be the conclufion of this warre? for you have prefixed a fhort time of its continuance.

Iren. The end will (I affure me) bee very fhort and much fooner then can be, in fo great a trouble as it feemeth hoped for, although there fhould none of them fall by the fword, nor bee flaine by the fouldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they would quickly confume themfelves, and devoure one another. The prooffe whereof I faw fufficiently exampled in thefe late warres of Mounfter; for notwithstanding that the fame was a moft rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they fhould have beene able to ftand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to fuch wretchedneffe, as that any

stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, infomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-creffes or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddainely left voyde of man and beast: yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine which they themselves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how it should so shortly come to passe.

Iren. It is most true, and the reason also very ready; for you must conceive that the strength of all that nation is the Kerne, Galloglashe, Stocah, Horseman, and Horseboy, the which having beene never used to have any thing of their owne, and now being upon spoyle of others, make no spare of any thing, but havocke and confusion of all they meet with, whether it bee their owne friends goods, or their foes. And if they happen to get never so great spoyle at any time, the same they waste and consume in a tryce, as naturally delighting in spoyle, though it doe themselves no good. On the other side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the souldier, when hee commeth there, spoyleth and havocketh likewise, so that betweene both nothing is very shortly left. And yet this is very necessary to bee done for the soone finishing of the warre, and not onely this in this wise, but also those subjects which doe border upon those parts, are

either to bee removed and drawne away, or likewise to bee spoyled, that the enemy may find no succour thereby: for what the souldier spares the rebell will surely spoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this passe, and all filled with these ruefull spectacles of so many wretched carcases starving, goodly countreys wasted, so huge desolation and confusion, that even I that doe but heare it from you, and do picture it in my minde, doe greatly pittie and commiserate it, if it shall happen, that the state of this miserie and lamentable image of things shall bee tolde, and feelingly presented to her Sacred Majestie, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is most inclinable to such pittifull complaints, and will not endure to heare such tragedies made of her poore people and subjects as some about her may insinuate; then she perhappes, for very compassion of such calamities, will not onely stoppe the streame of such violences, and returne to her wonted mildnesse, but also conne them little thanks which have beene the authours and counsellours of such bloodie platformes. So I remember that in the late government of that good Lord Grey, when, after long travell and many perillous assayes, he had brought things almost to this passe that you speake of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have beene brought to what her Majestie would, like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her subjects no more then dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left, but to raigne in their ashes; eare was soon lent thereunto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy; the noble Lord est-soones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and new counsells plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon should be

sent over to all that would accept of it, upon which all former purposes were blancked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which shee had before beene at quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore put back, and cleane frustrated. All which, whether it be true, or no, your selfe can well tell.

Iren. Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pittie, for I may not forget so memorable a thing: neither can I bee ignorant of that perillous device, and of the whole meanes by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived by sowing first dissention betweene him and an other Noble Personage, wherein they both at length found how notably they had beene abused, and how thereby, under hand, this universal alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to stay the same; for in the meane time all that was formerly done with long labor and great toyle, was (as you say) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the necessitie of that present state of things inforced him to that violence, and almost changed his naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of them which were afterwarde his accusers, had tasted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallowes brought to bee his accusers. But his course indeede was this, that hee spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practises or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, chiefly for ensamples sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were generally then infected with that evill, might by terrour thereof bee reclaymed, and saved, if it were possible. For in the last conspiracy of some

of the English Pale,^b thinke you not that there were many more guiltie then they that felt the punishment? yet hee touched only a few of special note; and in the tryall of them also even to prevent the blame of cruelty and partiall proceeding, and seeking their blood, which he, as in his great wisedome (as it seemeth) did fore-see would bee objected against him; hee, for the avoyding thereof, did use a singular discretion and regard. For the Jury that went upon their tryall, hee made to bee chosen out of their nearest kinsmen, and their Judges he made of some of their owne fathers, of others their uncles and dearest friends, who when they could not but justly condemne them, yet hee uttered their judgment in abundance of teares, and yet hee even herein was called bloody and cruell.

Eudox. Indeed so have I heard it heere often spoken, but I perceive (as I alwayes verily thought) that it was most unjustly; for hee was alwayes knowne to bee a most just, sincere, godly, and right noble man, farre from such sternenesse, farre from such unrighteousnesse. But in that sharpe execution of the Spaniards at the Fort of Smerwicke, I heard it specially noted, and, if it were true as some reported, surely it was a great touch to him in honour, for some say that he promised them life; others at least [that] hee did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is most untrue; for this I can assure you, my selfe being as neare them as any, that hee was so farre either from promising, or putting them in hope, that when first their Secretarie, called, (as I remember) Signior Jeffrey, an Italian, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their Coronell, named Don Sebastian, came

^b *some of the English Pale.*] Consulas (si placet) Camden. Annal. Rerum Anglic. & Hiber. ad an. 1580. SIR JAMES WARE.

forth to intreate that they might part with their armes like fouldiers, at least with their lives, according to the custome of warre and law of nations, it was strongly denied him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie himselfe, that they could not justly pleade either custome of warre, or law of nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemies; and if they were, hee willed them to shew by what commission they came thither into another Princes dominions to warre, whether from the Pope or the King of Spaine, or any other: the which when they said they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to seeke fortune abroad, and to serve in warre amongst the Irish, who desired to entertaine them, it was then tolde them, that the Irish themselves, as the Earle and John of Desmond with the rest, were no lawfull enemies, but rebels and traytours; and therefore they that came to succour them no better then rogues and runnagates, specially comming with no licence, nor commission from their owne King: So as it should bee dishonorable for him in the name of his Queene to condition or make any tearmes with such rascalls, but left them to their choyce, to yeeld and submit themselves, or no. Whereupon the said Colonell did absolutely yeeld himselfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being not thought good to shew them, for daunger of them, if, being saved, they should afterwarde joyne with the Irish, and also for terrour to the Irish, who are much imboldened by those forraigne succours, and also put in hope of more ere long, there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruely and maliciously doe these evill tongues backbite and slander the sacred ashes of that most just and honourable personage, whose least virtue, of many most excellent that abounded in his heroicke spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.

Eudox. Truly, Irenæus, I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you in that I have often heard questioned, and yet was never able, till now, to choake the mouth of such detractours with the certaine knowledge of their slanderous untruthes: neither is the knowledge hereof impertinent to that which wee formerly had in hand, I meane for the thorough prosecuting of that sharpe course which you have set downe for the bringing under of those rebells of Ulster and Connaght, and preparing a way for their perpetuall reformation, least haply, by any such sinister suggestions of crueltie and too much bloodshed, all the plot might be overthrowne, and all the coste and labour therein imployed bee utterly lost and cast away.

Iren. You say most true; for, after that Lords calling away from thence, the two Lords Justices continued but a while: of which the one was of minde (as it seemed) to have continued in the footing of his predecessors, but that he was curbed and restrayned. But the other was more mildly disposed, as was meete for his profession, and willing to have all the wounds of that commonwealth healed and recured, but not with that heede as they should bee. After, when Sir John Perrot, succeeding (as it were) into another mans harvest, found an open way to what course hee list, the which hee bent not to that point which the former governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorn of the former, and in vaine vaunt of his owne counsell, with the which hee was too willfully carryed; for hee did treade downe and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all that hee could, whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his government, (wherein hee thought much amisse) or privily plotting some other purposes of his owne, as it partly afterwards appeared; but surely his manner of government could

not be found nor wholesome for that realme, it being so contrary to the former. For it was even as two physicians should take one sicke body in hand at two fundry times; of which the former would minister all things meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddenly againe, whereof what is to bee looked for but a most daungerous relapse? That which wee now see thorough his rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, being now more daungerously sicke then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it must bee fore-seene and assured, that after once entering into this course of reformation, there bee after-wardes no remorse nor drawing backe for the sight of any such ruefull objects as must thereupon followe, nor for compassion of their calamities, seeing that by no other meanes it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of will, but of very urgent necessitie.

Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garrisons, and to direct their services; of the which neverthelesse I must needs conceive that there cannot be any certaine direction set downe, so that they must follow the occasions which shall bee daylie offered, and diligently awayted. But, by your leave (*Irenæus*), notwithstanding all this your carefull fore-sight and provision (mee thinkes) I see an evill lurke unespied, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great service, if it bee not very well looked into; and that is, the corruption of their captaines: for though they be placed never so carefully, and their companies filled never so sufficiently, yet may they, if they list, discarde whom they please, and send away such as will perhappes willingly bee ridde of that dangerous and hard service, the which (well I wote) is their common custome to doe, when they are layde in garrison, for then they may better hide their defaults, then when they are in campe, where they are con-

tinually eyed and noted of all men. Besides, when their pay commeth, they will (as they say) detain the greatest portions thereof at their pleasure, by a hundred shifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the souldier, and abuse the Queene, and greatly hinder the service. So that let the Queene pay never so fully, let the muster-master view them never so diligently, let the deputy or generall looke to them never so exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore methinks it were good, if it be possible, to make provision for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very hard; but the chiefest helpe for prevention hereof must be the care of the coronell that hath the government of all his garrison, to have an eye to their alterations, to know the numbers and names of the sick souldiers, and the flaine, to marke and observe their rankes in their daylie rising forth to service, by which he cannot easily bee abused, so that hee himselfe bee a man of speciall assurance and integritie. And therefore great regard is to bee had in the choosing and appointing of them. Besides, I would not by any meanes that the captaines should have the paying of their souldiers, but that there should bee a pay-master appointed, of speciall trust, which should pay every man according to his captaines ticket, and the accompt of the clerke of his band, for by this meanes the captaine will never seeke to falsifie his alterations, nor to diminish his company, nor to deceive his souldiers, when nothing thereof shalbe sure to come unto himselfe but what is his owne bare pay. And this is the manner of the Spaniards captaine, who never hath to meddle with his souldiers pay, and indeed scorneth the name as base to be counted his souldiers pagadore;^c

^c *his souldiers pagadore.*] *Pagador*, Spanish; a paymaster or treasurer. TODD. It does not strictly mean "treasurer," but is the proper term for the *paymaster* of a regiment; from *pagar*, to pay. C.

whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought things to so bad a passe, that there is no captaine, but thinkes his band very sufficient, if hee can muster 60, and stickes not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a captainship, that cannot make it worth 500*l.* by the yeare, the which they right well verifie by the prooffe.

Eudox. Truly I thinke this is a very good meanes to avoid that inconvenience of captaines abuses. But what say you to the coronell? what authority thinke you meete to be given him? whether will you allow him to protect or safe conduct, and to have martiall lawes as they are accustomed?

Iren. Yea verily, but all these to bee limited with very strait instructions. As first for protections, that hee shall have authority after the first proclamation, for the space of twentie dayes, to protect all that shall come in, and them to send to the Lord Deputy, with their safe conduct or passe, to bee at his disposition; but so as none of them returne backe againe, being once come in, but be presently sent away out of the countrey, to the next sheriffe, and so conveyed in safetie. And likewise for martiall lawe, that to the souldier it bee not extended, but by tryall formerly of his cryme, by a jury of his fellow souldiers as it ought to bee, and not rashly, at the will or displeasure of the coronell, as I have sometimes seene too lightly. And as for other of the rebells that shall light into their handes, that they bee well aware of what condition they bee, and what holding they have. For, in the last generall warres there, I knew many good freeholders executed by martiall law, whose landes were thereby saved to their heires, which should have otherwise escheated to her Majestie. In all which, the great discretion and uprightnesse of the coronell himselfe is to bee the cheifest stay both for all those doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the service happen.

Eudox. Your caution is very good; but now touching the arch-rebell himselfe, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the time of these warres, should offer to come in and submit himselfe to her Majestie, would you not have him received, giving good hostages, and sufficient assurance of himselfe?

Iren. No, marrie; for there is no doubt, but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done divers times already, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well shewed; neither indeed can hee now, if hee would, come in at all, nor give that assurance of himselfe that should bee meete, for being, as hee is, very subtle headed, seeing himselfe now so farre engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission hee can purchase to himselfe any safetie, but that heereafter, when things shall bee quieted, these his villanies will be ever remembered? and whensoever hee shall treade awry (as needes the most righteous must sometimes) advantage will bee taken thereof, as a breach of his pardon, and hee brought to a reckoning for all former matters: besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himselfe to subjection, that having once set before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath thereunto not onely found encouragement from the greatest King in Christendome, but also found great faintnes in her Majesties withstanding him, whereby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, and offend further then he hath done, whensoever he please, let every reasonable man judge. But if hee himselfe should come [in], and leave all other his accomplices without, as O Donel, Mac Mahone, Maguire, and the rest, he must needs thinke that then, even they will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their trouble giveth them the slip; whereby hee must needes perceive how impossible it is for him to submit himselfe. But yet if hee would so

doe, can he give any good assurance of his obedience? For how weake hould is there by hostages hath too often beene proved, and that which is spoken of taking Shane O-Neales sonnes from him, and setting them up against him as a very perillous counsaile, and not by any meanes to be put in prooffe; for were they let forth and could overthrowe him, who should afterwards overthrow them, or what assurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in Æsop of the wild horse, who, having enmity with the stagge, came to a man to desire his ayde against his foe, who yeelding thereunto mounted upon his backe, and so following the stagge ere long slew him, but then when the horse would have him alight he refused, but ever after kept him in his subjection and service. Such I doubt would bee the prooffe of Shane O-Neales sonnes. Therefore it is most dangerous to attempt any such plot; for even that very manner of plot, was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great: for when the last O-Neale, called Terlagh Leinagh, began to stand upon some tickle termes, this fellow, then called Baron of Dunganon, was set up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and strengthened by the Queene so far, as that he is now able to keepe her selfe play: much like unto a gamester that having lost all, borroweth of his next fellow-gamester somewhat to maintaine play, which he, setting unto him againe, shortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

Eudox. Was this rebell then set up at first by the Queene (as you say), and now become so undutifull?

Iren. He was (I assure you) the most outcast of all the O-Neales then, and lifted up by her Majesty out of the dust, to that he hath now wrought himselfe unto, and now hee playeth like the frozen snake, who being for compassion releived by the husbandman, soone after he was

warme began to hisse, and threaten danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He surely then deserveth the punishment of that snake, and should worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of Shane O-Neales sonnes against him, what say you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by some, to draw in Scotts, to serve against him? how like you that advice?

Iren. Much worse then the former; for who that is experienced in those parts knoweth not that the O-Neales are neereely allyed unto the Mac-Neiles of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, from whence they use to have all succours of those Scottes and Redshankes? Besides, all these Scottes are, through long continuance, intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the North; so as there is no hope^d that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old friends and kinsmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Doe we not all know, that the Scottes were the first inhabitants of all the North, and that those which now are called the North Irish are indeed very Scottes,^e which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that countrey to be their owne aunciently. This then were but to leap out of the pan into the fire; for the cheifest caveat and provision in reformation of the North must be to keep out those Scottes.

Eudox. Indeede, I remember that in your discourse of the first peopling of Ireland, you shewed that the Scythians

^d *so as there is no hope, &c.*] The causes of these feares have been amputated, since the happy union of England and Scotland, established by his late Majesty. SIR JAMES WARE.

^e *very Scottes.*] Vide Bed. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1. SIR JAMES WARE.

or Scottes were the first that fate downe in the North, whereby it seemes that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then that O-Neale claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone saith that the right is in him? I pray you resolve me herein; for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre against him, whose successe useth commonly to be according to the justnes of the cause, for which it is made: For if Tyrone have any right in that feigniory (me thinkes) it should be wrong to thrust him out: Or if (as I remember) you said in the beginning, that O-Neale, when he acknowledged the King of England for his leige Lord and Soveraigne, did (as he alleadgeth) reserve in the same submission his feigniories and rights unto himselfe, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the right of O-Neale in the feigniory of the North, it is surely none at all: For besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and thereby assumed and invested all the right of that land to themselves and their heires and successours for ever, so as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he received backe from them, O-Neale himselfe never had any ancient feigniory over that country, but what by usurpation and incroachment, after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the English, whose lands and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scottes, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eft-soones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of England (soone after) fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that country of the North, nor restraine the insolency of O-Neale; who, finding none now to withstand him, raigned in that desolation, and made himselfe Lord of those few people

that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath continued his first usurped power, and now extracteth and extorteth upon all men what he list: so that now to subdue or expell an usurper, should bee no unjust enterprife or wrongfull warre, but a restitution of auncient right unto the crowne of England, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus fatisfied by you, that I may the better fatisfie them whom I have often heard to object these doubts, and flaunderously to barke at the courtes which are held against that trayterous Earle and his adherents. But now that you have thus settled your service for Ulster and Connaght, I would bee glad to heare your opinion for the prosecuting of Feagh Mac Hugh, who being but a base villaine, and of himselfe of no power, yet so continually troubleth the state, notwithstanding that he lyeth under their nose, that I disdaine his bold arrogancy, and thinke it to be the greatest indignity to the Queene that may be, to suffer such a caytiffe to play such *Rex*, and by his ensample not onely to give heart and incoragement to all such bad rebels, but also to yeeld them succour and refuge against her Majesty, whensoever they fly unto his Comericke: whereof I would first wish, before you enter into your plot of service against him, that you should lay open by what meanes he, being so base, first lifted himselfe up to this dangerous greatnes, and how he maintaineth his part against the Queene and her power, notwithstanding all that hath beene done and attempted against him. And whether also hee have any pretence of right in the lands which he houldeth, or in the warres that he maketh for the same?

Iren. I will so, at your pleasure, and will further declare, not only the first beginning of his private house, but also the originall of the Sept of the Birnes and Toolles,

so farre as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by reading: The people of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I shewed unto you my conjecture) descended from the auncient Brittaines, which first inhabited all those easterne parts of Ireland, as their names doe betoken; for Brin in the brittish language signifieth wooddy,^f and Toole hilly, which names, it seemeth, they tooke of the countryes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it seemeth that ever since the comming in of the English with Dermot ni-Gall,^g they have continued: Whether that their countrey being so rude and mountainous was of them despised, and thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that they were received to grace by them, and suffered to enjoy their lands as unfit for any other, yet it seemeth that in some places of the same they have put foote, and fortified with sundry castles, of which the ruines onely doe there now remaine, since which time they are growne to that strength, that they are able to lift up hand against all that state; and now lately, through the boldnes and late good successe of this Feagh Mac Hugh, they are so farre imboldened, that they threaten perill even to Dublin, over whose necke they continually hang. But touching your demand of this Feaghes right unto that countrey which he claimes, or the seigniory therein, it is most vaine and arrogant. For [of] this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by Der-

^f *Brin in the brittish language signifieth wooddy.*] In Richard Creagh's booke *De Linguâ Hibernicâ*, there is a very plentiful collection of Irish words derived from the Brittish or Welch tongue, which doth much strengthen the authors opinion, in houlding that the Birnes, Tooles, and Cavenaghs, with other the ancient inhabitants of the easterne parts, were originally Britifh colonies. SIR JAMES WARE.

^g *Dermot ni-Gall.*] Dermot MacMorrogh, King of Leinster, who was surnamed ni-Gall, as being a friend to the English, and chiefe instrument in inciting them to the conquest of Ireland. SIR JAMES WARE.

mot Mac Morrough, King of Leinster, unto Strongbowe with his daughter, and which Strongbowe gave over unto the King and his heires, so as the right is absolutely now in her Majesty; and if it were not, yet could it not be in this Feagh, but in O Brin,^h which is the ancient Lord of all that countrey; for he and his auncestours were but followers unto O Brin, and his grandfather, Shane Mac Terlagh, was a man of meanest regard amongst them, neither having wealth nor power. But his sonne Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength and great fastnes of Glan-Malor, which adjoyneth unto his house of Ballinecor, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the succour of that glynne, as to a sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoyle of all the countrey, through which he grew strong, and in short space got unto himselfe a great name thereby amongst the Irish, in whose footing this his sonne continuing hath, through many unhappy occasions, increased his said name, and the opinion of his greatnes, infomuch that now he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himselfe of so meane condition, hath through his owne hardinesse lifted himselfe up to the height that he dare now front princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgracefull, to be bearded of such a base varlet, that being but of late growne out of the dunghill beginneth now to overcrow so high mountaines, and make himselfe great protectour of all outlawes and rebells that will repaire unto him. But doe you thinke he is now so dangerous an enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him downe as some suppose?

Iren. No verily, there is no great reckoning to bee

^h O Brin.] Or O-Birne. SIR JAMES WARE.

made of him ; for had hee ever beene taken in hand, when the rest of the realme (or at least the parts adjoyning) had ben quiet, as the honourable gent. that now governeth there (I meane Sir William Russell) gave a notable attempt thereunto,ⁱ and had worthily performed it, if his course had not beene crossed unhappily, he could not have stood 3. moneths, nor ever have looked up against a very meane power : but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the Moores in Leix, the Cavenaghes in the county of Wexford, and some of the Butlers in the county of Kilkenny, they all flocke unto him, and drawe into his countrey, as to a strong hould where they thinke to be safe from all that prosecute them : And from thence they doe at their pleasures breake out into all the borders adjoyning, which are well peopled countryes, as the counties of Dublin, of Kildare, of Catherlagh, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the spoiles whereof they victuall and strengthen themselves, which otherwise should in short time be starved, and sore pined ; so that what he is of himselfe you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then, by so much as I gather out of your speech, the next way to end the warres with him, and to roote him out quite, should be to keepe him from invading of those countryes adjoyning, which (as I suppose) is to be done, either by drawing all the inhabitants of those next borders away, and leaving them utterly waste, or by planting garrisons upon all those frontiers about him, that, when he shall breake forth, may set upon him and shorten his returne.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, Eudoxus, but that for the dispeopling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countrey about him, which you speake of, should bee a great confusion and trouble, aswell for the unwilling-

ⁱ gave a notable attempt thereunto.] Vide Camdeni Annales, sub finem anni 1594. SIR JAMES WARE.

neffe of them to leave their poffeffions, as alfo for placing and providing for them in other countreyes, (me thinkes) the better courfe fhould be by planting of garrifons about him, which, whensoever he fhall looke forth, or be drawne out with the defire of the fpoyle of thofe borders, or for neceffity of victuall, fhall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or comming.

Eudox. Where then doe you wifh thofe garrifons to be planted that they may ferve beft againft him; and how many in every garrifon?

Iren. I my felfe, by reason that (as I told you) I am no martiall man, will not take upon me to direct fo dangerous affaires, but onely as I underftood by the purpofes and plots, which the Lord Gray who was well experienced in that fervice, againft him did lay downe: to the performance whereof he onely required 1000. men to be laid in 6. garrifons; that is, at Ballinecor 200. footemen and 50. horfemen, which fhould fhut him out of his great glynne, whereto he fo much trufteth; at Knockelough 200. footemen and 50. horfemen, to anfwere the county of Catherlagh; at Arclo or Wicklow 200. footemen and 50. horfemen to defend all that fide towards the fea; in Shillelagh 100. footemen which fhould cut him from the Cavanaghes, and the county of Wexford; and about the three caftles 50. horfemen, which fhould defend all the county of Dublin; and 100. footemen at Talbots Towne, which fhould keepe him from breaking out into the county of Kildare, and be alwayes on his necke on that fide: The which garrifons, fo laide, will fo bufie him, that he fhall never reft at home, nor ftirre forth abroad but he fhall be had; as for his creete they cannot be above ground, but they muft needes fall into their hands or ftarve, for he hath no faftnes nor refuge for them. And as for his partakers of the Moores, Butlers, and Cavanaghes, they will foone leave him, when they fee his faftnes and ftong places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this seemeth a plot of great reason, and small difficulty, which promiseth hope of a short end. But what speciall directions will you set downe for the services and risings out of these garrisons?

Iren. None other then the present occasions shall minister unto them, and as by good espialls, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawne continually upon him, so as one of them shall be still upon him, and sometimes all at one instant bayting him. And this (I assure my selfe) will demaund no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one yeare; which how small a thing it is, unto the eternall quietnesse which shall thereby be purchased to that realme, and the great good which should growe to her Majesty, should (me thinkes) readily drawe on her Highnesse to the undertaking of the enterprise.

Eudox. You have very well (me thinkes), Irenæus, plotted a course for the atchieving of those warres now in Ireland, which seemes to ask no long time, nor great charge, so as the effecting thereof bee committed to men of sure trust, and sound experience, aswell in that country as in the manner of those services; for if it bee left in the hands of such rawe captaines as are usually sent out of England, being thereunto onely preferred by friendship, and not chosen by sufficiency, it will soone fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meete (me thinkes) that such captaines onely were thereunto employed, as have formerly served in that country, and been at least lieutenants unto other captaines there. For otherwise, being brought and transferred from other services abroad, as in France, in Spain, and in the Low-countrys, though they be of good experience in those, and have never so well deserved, yet in these they will be new to seeke, and, before they have gathered experience, they shall buy it with great losse to her Majesty, either by hazarding of their companies,

through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Irish services, or by loosing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but short, in which it might be finished, almost before they have taken out a new lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new captaines it seemes, Iren., that you barre them from the credit of this service: but (to say truth) me thinkes it were meete, that any one, before he came to be a captaine, should have beene a souldiour; for, "*Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare.*" And besides, there is great wrong done to the old souldiour, from whom all meanes of advancement which is due unto him is cut off by shuffling in these new cutting captaines into the place for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now that you have thus (as I suppose) finished all the warre, and brought all things to that low ebbe which you speake of, what course will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this desolate estate, in which (mee thinkes) I behold them now left, unto that perfect establishment and new commonwealth which you have conceived of, by which so great good may redound unto her Majesty, and an assured peace bee confirmed? for that is it whereunto wee are now to looke, and doe greatly long for, being long sithence made weary with the huge charge which you have laide upon us, and with the strong indurance of so many complaints, so many delayes, so many doubts and dangers, as will hereof (I know well) arise: unto the which before wee come, it were meete (me thinkes) that you should take some order for the souldiour, which is now first to bee discharged and disposed of, some way; the which if you doe not well fore-see, may growe to as great inconvenience as all this that I suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving of so many thousand souldiours, which from

thence forth will be unfit for any labour or other trade, but must either seeke service and imployment abroad, which may be dangerous, or else imploy themselves heere at home, as may bee discommodious.

Iren. You say very true; and it is a thing much misliked in this our common-wealth that no better course is taken for such as have been imployed in service, but that returning, whether maymed and so unable to labour, or otherwise whole and sound, yet afterwards unwilling to worke, or rather willing to set the hang-man on work. But that needeth another consideration; but to this which wee have now in hand, it is farre from my meaning to leave the souldiour so at randome, or to leave that waste realme so weake and destitute of strength, which may both defend it against others that might seeke then to set upon it, and also keepe it from that relapse which I before did fore-cast. For it is one speciall good of this plot which I would devise, that 6000. souldiers of these whom I have now imployed in this service, and made throughly acquainted both with the state of the countrey, and manners of the people, should henceforth bee still continued, and for ever maintayned of the countrey, without any charge to her Majestie; and the rest that are either olde, and unable to serve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have seene many souldiers after the service to prove very good husbands, should bee placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at such rate, or rather better then others, to whome the same shall be set out.

Eudox. Is it possible, Irenæus? can there be any such meanes devised, that so many men should be kept still in her Majesties service without any charge to her at all? Surely this were an exceeding great good, both to her Highnes to have so many olde souldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpose soever she list to imploy them, and also to have that land thereby so strengthned, that it shall

neither feare any forraine invafion, nor praétife, which the Irifh fhall ever attempt, but fhall keepe them under in continuall awe and firme obedience.

Iren. It is fo indeed. And yet this truly I doe not take to be any matter of great difficultie, as I thinke it will alfo foone appeare unto you. And firft we will fpeake of the North part, for that the fame is of more weight and importance. So foone as it fhall appeare that the enemy is brought downe, and the ftout rebell either cut off, or driven to that wretchedneffe that hee is no longer able to holde up his head, but will come in to any conditions, which I affure my felfe will bee before the end of the fecond Winter, I wifh that there bee a generall proclamation made, that whatfoever out-lawes will freely come in, and fubmit themfelves to her Majefties mercy, fhall have liberty fo to doe, where they fhall either finde that grace they defire, or have leave to returne againe in fafety: upon which it is likely that fo many as furvive will come in to fue for grace, of which who fo are thought meet for fubjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or elfe all of them, (for I thinke that all wilbe but a very few;) upon condition and affurance that they will fubmit themfelves abfolutely to her Majefties ordinance for them, by which they fhall be affured of life and libertie, and be onely tyed to fuch conditions as fhall bee thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt but they will all moft readily, and upon their knees fubmit themfelves, by the prooffe of that which I have feene in Mounfter. For upon the like proclamation there, they all came in both tagg and ragg, and when as afterwardes many of them were denied to be received, they bade them doe with them what they would, for they would not by any meanes returne againe, nor goe forth. For in that cafe who will

not accept almost of any conditions, rather than dye of hunger and miserie?

Eudox. It is very likely so. But what then is the ordinance, and what bee the conditions which you will propose unto them, which shall reserve unto them an assurance of life and liberty?

Iren. So soone then as they have given the best assurance of themselves which may be required, which must be (I suppose) some of their principall men to remaine in hostage one for another, and some other for the rest, for other surety I reckon of none that may binde them, neither of wife, nor of children, since then perhappes they would gladly be ridde of both from the famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stripped quite of all their warrelike weapons, and then, these conditions set downe and made knowne unto them; that they shall bee placed in Leinster, and have land given them to occupy and to live upon, in such sort as shall become good subjects, to labour thenceforth for their living, and to apply themselves to honest trades of civility as they shall every one be found meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then, a Gods name, will you place them in Leinster? or will you finde out any new land there for them that is yet unknowne?

Iren. No, I will place them all in the countrey of the Birnes and Tooles, which Pheagh Mac Hugh hath, and in all the lands of the Cavanaghes, which are now in rebellion, and all the lands which will fall to her Majestie thereabouts, which I know to be very spacious and large enough to containe them, being very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.^k

^k *very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.*] This carrieth no fit proportion for the transplantation intended by the author, considering the large extent of Ulster, and the narrow bounds heere limited. SIR JAMES WARE.

Eudox. But then what will you doe with all the Birnes, the Toolles, and the Cavanaghes, and all those that now are joyned with them?

Iren. At the same very time, and in the same very manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulster, will I have it also made to these; and upon their submission thereunto, I will take like assurance of them as of the other. After which I will translate all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulster, with all their creete, and what else they have left them, the which I will cause to be divided amongst them in some meete sort, as each may thereby have somewhat to sustaine himselfe a while withall, untill, by his further travaile and labour of the earth, he shalbe able to provide himselfe better.

Eudox. But will you give the land then freely unto them, and make them heires of the former rebels? so may you perhaps make them also heires of all their former villainies and disorders; or how else will you dispose of them?

Iren. Not so; but all the lands will I give unto Englishmen whom I will have drawne thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shall bee thought meete, and for such rent as shall eft-soones bee rated: under every of those Englishmen will I place some of those Irish to bee tennants for a certaine rent, according to the quantity of such land, as every man shall have allotted unto him, and shalbe found able to wield, wherein this speciall regard shall be had, that in no place under any land-lord there shall bee many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered farre abroad thorough all the country: For that is the evill which now I finde in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell altogether by their septs, and severall nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will; whereas if there were English well placed among them, they should

not bee able once to stirre or to murmure, but that it should be knowne, and they shortened according to their demerites.

Eudox. You have good reason; but what rating of rents meane you? to what end doe you purpose the same?

Iren. My purpose is to rate the rent of all those lands of her Majestie in such sort, unto those Englishmen which shall take them, as they shall be well able to live there-upon, to yeeld her Majesty reasonable chiefrie,¹ and also give a competent maintenance unto the garrisons, which shall be there left amongst them; for those souldiours (as I tolde you) remaining of the former garrisons I cast to maintaine upon the rent of those landes which shall bee escheated, and to have them divided thorough all Ireland in such places as shalbe thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the course which the Romanes observed in the conquest of England, for they planted some of their legions in all places convenient, the which they caused the countrey to maintaine, cutting upon every portion of land a reasonable rent, which they called Romescot, the which might not surcharge the tenant or free-holder, and might defray the pay of the garrison: and this hath beene alwayes observed by all princes in all countries to them newly subdued, to set garrisons amongst them to containe them in dutie whose burthen they made them to beare; and the want of this ordinance, in the first conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, was the cause of the so short decay of that government, and the quicke recovery againe of the Irish. Therefore by all meanes it is to bee provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it should not misbecome mee, in the

¹ to yeeld her Majesty reasonable chiefrie.] Chiefrie is a small rent paid to the Lord paramount. JOHNSON.

late planting of Mounſter, that no care was had of this ordinance, nor any ſtrength of garrifon provided for, by a certaine allowance out of all the ſaide landes, but onely the preſent profite looked into, and the ſafe continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a band of ſouldiours layde in Mounſter, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene, receiving the rent of the countrey, doe give pay at her pleaſure, or that there be a ſetled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

Iren. There is great oddes, for now that ſaid rent of the countrey is not appointed to the pay of the ſouldiers, but it is, by every other occaſion comming betweene, converted to other uſes, and the ſouldiours in time of peace diſcharged and neglected as unneceſſary; whereas if the ſaid rent were appointed and ordained by an eſtabliſhment to this end onely, it ſhould not bee turned to any other; nor in troublous times, upon every occaſion, her Majeſtie bee ſo troubled with ſending over new ſouldiours as ſhee is now, nor the countrie ever ſhould dare to mutinie, having ſtill the ſouldiour in their neck, nor any forraine enemy dare to invade, knowing there ſo ſtrong and great a garrifon allwayes ready to receive them.

Eudox. Sith then you thinke that this Romeſcot of the pay of the ſouldiours upon the land to be both the readieſt way to the ſouldiours, and leaſt troubleſome to her Majeſtie, tell us (I pray you) how would you have the ſaid lands rated, that both a rent may riſe thereout unto the Queene, and alſo the ſouldiours receive pay, which (me thinkes) wilbe hard?

Iren. Firſt we are to conſider how much land there is in all Ulſter, that according to the quantity thereof we may ceſſe the ſaid rent and allowance iſſuing thereout. Ulſter (as the ancient records of that realme doe teſtifie)

doth containe 9000. plow-lands, every of which plow-lands containeth 120. acres, after the rate of 21. foote to every perch of the acre, every of which plow-lands I will rate at 40s. by the yeare; the which yearely rent amounteth in the whole to 18000l. besides 6s. 8d. chiefrie out of every plow-land. But because the countie of Louth, being a part of Ulster, and containing in it 712. plow-lands, is not wholly to escheate to her Majestie as the rest, they having in all their warres continued for the most part dutifull, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the rebels, there is an abatement to be made thereout of 400. or 500. plow-lands, as I estimate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40s. out of every plow-land, like as the escheated lands doe, but yet shall pay for their composition of cessé towards the keeping of soldiers 20s. out of every plow-land: so as there is to bee deducted out of the former summe 200 or 300l. yearly, the which may nevertheless be supplied by the rent of the fishings, which are exceeding great in Ulster, and also by an increase of rent in the best lands, and those that lye in the best places neere the sea-coast. The which eighteen thousand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500. souldiers, with some overplus towards the pay of the victuallers which are to bee employed in the victualling of these garrisons.

Eudox. So then, belike you meane to leave 1500. souldiers in garrison for Ulster, to bee payde principally out of the rent of those lands which shall be there escheated unto her Majestie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garrisoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts; that is, 500. in every garrison, the which I will have to remaine in three of the same places where they were before appointed; to wit, 500. at Strabane and about Loughfoile, so as they may holde all the passages of that part of the

countrie, and some of them bee put in wardes, upon all the straights thereabouts, which I know to be such, as may stoppe all passages into the countrie on that side; and some of them also upon the Ban, up towards Lough-Sidney, as I formerly directed. Also other 500 at the fort upon Lough-Earne, and wardes taken out of them which shall bee layde at Fermannagh, at Bealick, at Ballyshannon, and all the streights towards Connaght, the which I know doe so strongly command all the passages that way as that none can passe from Ulster into Connaght, without their leave. The last 500. shall also remaine in their fort at Monaghan, and some of them bee drawne into wardes, to keepe the kaies of all that countrie, both downwards, and also towards O Relies countrie, and the pale; and some at Eniskillin, some at Bel-turbut, some at the Blacke Fort, and so along that river, as I formerly shewed in the first planting of them. And moreover at every of these forts I would have the feate of a towne layde forth and incompassed, in the which I would wish that there should inhabitants of all sortes, as merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, bee placed, to whom there should charters and fraunchises be graunted to incorporate them. The which, as it wilbe no matter of difficultie to draw out of England persons which would very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne those parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majestie much profit; for those places are fit for trade and trafficke, having most convenient out-gates by divers to the sea, and in-gates to the richest parts of the land, that they would soone be enriched, and mightily enlarged, for the very seating of the garrisons by them: besides, the safetie and assurance which they shall worke unto them will also draw thither store of people and trade, as I have seene ensample at Mariborough and Philipstowne in Leinster, where by reason of these two fortes,

though there be but small wardes left in them, there are two good townes now growne, which are the greatest stay of both those two countries.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinkes) three such townes, as you say, would do very well in those places with the garrisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would bee able with little to in-wall themselves strongly: but, for the planting of all the rest of the countrey, what order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I said) to bring people out of England, which should inhabite the same; whereunto though, I doubt not, but great troopes would be readie to runne, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to bee chosen out of all partes of this realme, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the old use in sending forth of Colonies, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisdome bee thought meetest. Amongst the chiefe of which I would have the land sett into feignories, in such sort as it is now in Mounster, and divided into hundreds and parishes, or wardes, as it is in England, and layde out into shires as it was aunciently; viz. the countie of Downe, the countie of Antrim, the countie of Louth, the countie of Armaghe, the countie of Cavan, the countie of Colerane, the countie of Monaghan,^m the countie of Tyrone, the countie of Fermannagh, the countie of Donnegall, being in all tenne. Over all which I wish a Lord President and a Councill to bee placed, which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them justice and equity.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot for

^m the countie of Monaghan.] This is now part of the county of London-derry. SIR JAMES WARE.

Ulster, and now I desire to heare your like opinion for Connaght.

Iren. By that which I have already said of Ulster you may gather my opinion for Connaght, being very answereable to the former. But for that the lands, which shal therein escheat unto her Majesty, are not so intirely together as that they can be accompted in one summe, it needeth that they be considered severally. The province of Connaght in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Records of Dublin) 7200 plow-lands of the former measure, and is of late divided into six shires or counties: the countie of Clare,ⁿ the countie of Leytrim, the countie of Roscoman, the countie of Galway, the countie of Maio, and the countie of Sligo. Of the which, all the countie of Sligo, all the countie of Maio, the most part of the countie of Roscoman, the most part of the countie of Letrim, a great part of the countie of Galway, and some of the countie of Clare, is like to escheat to her Majestie for the rebellion of their present possessors. The which two counties of Sligo and Maio are supposed to containe almost 3000. plow-lands, the rent whereof, rateably to the former, I valew almost at 6000*l. per annum.* The countie of Roscoman, saving that which pertaineth to the house of Roscoman and some few other English there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheate to her Majesty, saving those portions of English inhabitants; and even those English doe (as I understand by them) pay as much rent to her Majesty as is set upon those in Ulster, counting their composition money therewithall, so as it may all run into

ⁿ *the countie of Clare.*] The county of Clare was anciently accounted part of the province of Mounster, whence it hath the name of Tucdmuan, or Thomond, which signifieth North Mounster, and hath at this day its peculiar governour, as being exempted from the prefidences of Mounster and Connaght. SIR JAMES WARE.

one reckoning with the former two counties: So that this county of Roscoman, containing 1200. plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400 li. by the yeare, which with the former two counties rent maketh about 8300 l. for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated lands of the county of Gallway and Letrim will rise unto is yet uncertaine to define, till survey thereof be made, for that those lands are intermingled with the Earle of Clanricardes, and others lands; but it is thought they be the one halfe of both those counties, so as they may be counted to the value of one whole county, which containeth above 1000. plough-lands; for so many the least county of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 li. more, that is, in all, ten or eleven thousand pounds. The other 2 counties must remaine till their escheates appeare, the which letting passe yet, as unknowne, yet this much is knowne to be accompted for certaine, that the composition of these two counties, being rated at 20. shil. every plow-land, will amount to above 2000 pounds more: all which being laide together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 pounds, the which summe, together with the rent of the escheated lands in the two last countyes, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no lesse then a thousand pounds more, will yeeld pay largely unto 1000 men and their victuallers, and 1000 pounds over towards the Governour.

Eudox. You have (me thinkes) made but an estimate of those lands of Connaght even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any certainty of charge to be raised upon the same.

Iren. Not altogether upon uncertainties; for this much may easily appeare unto you to be certaine, as the composition money of every plowland amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally to understand, that my

purpose is to rate all the lands in Ireland at 20 shil: every plowland, for their composition towards the garrison. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yeelded unto. So that there being in all Ireland (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 plowlands, the same shall amount to the summe likewise of 43920 pounds, and the rest to be reared of the escheated lands which fall to her Majesty in the said provinces of Ulster, Connaght, and that part of Leinster under the rebels; for Mounster wee deale not yet withall.

Eudox. But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay composition upon the escheated lands as you doe upon the rest? for so (mee thinkes) you reckon altogether. And that sure were too much to pay 7. nobles out of every plow land, and composition money besides, that is 20 shil: out of every plow land.

Iren. No, you mistake me; I doe put onely 7 nobles rent and composition both upon every plow land escheated, that is 40. shil: for composition, and 6 shil: 8. pence for cheifrie to her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe now conceive you; proceede then (I pray you) to the appointing of your garrisons in Connaght, and shew us both how many and where you would have them placed.

Iren. I would have 1000 laide in Connaght in 2 garrisons; namely, 500 in the county of Maio, about Clan Mac Costilagh, which shall keepe all Mayo and the Bourkes of Mac William Eighter: the other 500. in the county of Galway, about Garrandough, that they may containe the Conhors and the Bourkes there, the Kellies and Murries, with all them thereabouts; for that garrison which I formerly placed at Loughearne will serve for all occasions in the county of Sligo, being neere adjoyning thereunto, so as in one nights march they

maye be almost in any place thereof when neede shall require them. And like as in the former places of gar-risons in Ulster, I wished three corporate townes to be planted, which under the safeguard of that strength should dwell and trade safely with all the countrey about them, so would I also wish to be in this of Connaght; and that besides, there were another established at Athlone, with a convenient ward in the castle there for their defence.

Eudox. What should that neede, seeing the Governour of Connaght useth to lye there alwayes, whose presence will bee a defence to all that towneship?

Iren. I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked that the Governour should lye so farre of, in the remotest place of all the province, whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the midst of the charge, that he might bothe looke out alike unto all places of his government, and also be soone at hand in any place, where occasion shall demand him; for the presence of the Governour is (as you sayd) a great stay and bridle unto those that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in Mounster, where the dayly good thereof is continually apparant: and, for this cause also doe I greatly mislike the Lord Deputies seating at Dublin, being the outest corner of the realme, and least needing the awe of his presence; whereas (me thinkes) it were fitter, since his proper care is of Leinster, though he have care of all besides generally, that he should seate himselfe at Athie, or thereabouts, upon the skirt of that unquiet countrey, so that he might sit, as it were, at the very maine masse of his ship, whence he might easily over looke and sometimes over-reach the Moores, the Dempfies, the Connors, O-Carroll, O-Molloy, and all that heape of Irish nations which there lye hudled together without any to over-awe them, or containe them

in dutie. For the Irishman (I assure you) feares the Government no longer then he is within fight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (me thinkes) herein you observe a matter of much importance, more then I have heard ever noted; but sure that seemes so expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath beene overseene or omitted; but I suppose the instance of the citizens of Dublin is the greatest lett thereof.

Iren. Truly, then it ought not so to be; for no cause have they to feare that it will be any hinderance to them; for Dublin will bee still, as it is the key of all passages and transportations out of England thitherto, no lesse profit of those citizens then it now is, and besides other places will hereby receive some benefit. But let us now (I pray you) come to Leinster, in the which I would wish the same course to be observed that was in Ulster.

Eudox. You meane for the leaving of the garrisons in their forts, and for planting of English in all those countreyes betweene the county of Dublin and the county of Wexford; but those waste wilde places, I thinke, when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seeke to inhabite.

Iren. Yes enough, (I warrant you;) for though the whole tracke of the countrey be mountanous and woody, yet there are many goodly valleyes amongst them, fit for faire habitations, to which those mountaines adjoynd will be a great increase of pasturage; for that countrey is a great foyle of cattle, and very fit for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, save onely for barley and oates, and some places for rye, and therefore the larger pennyworthes may be allowed to them, though otherwise the wildnes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the foyle, so as I doubt not but it will find inhabitants and undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much doe you thinke that all those lands which Feagh Mac Hugh houldeth under him may amount unto, and what rent may be reared thereout to the maintenance of the garrisons that shall be laide there?

Iren. Truly, it is impossible by ayme to tell it, and for experience and knowledge thereof I doe not thinke that there was every any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will (if it please you) guesse thereat, upon ground onely of their judgement which have formerly devided all that country into 2 sheires or countyes, namely the countie of Wicklow, and the county of Fernes:^o the which 2 I see no cause but that they should wholly escheate to her Majesty, all save the barony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormond's auncient inheritance, and hath ever been in his possession; for all the whole land is the Queenes, unlesse there be some grant of any part thereof to bee shewed from her Majesty: as I thinke there is onely of New Castle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Masterfon, the rest, being almost 30 miles over, I doe suppose can containe no lesse then 2000 plowlands, which I will estimate at 4000. pounds rent, by the yeare. The rest of Leinster, being 7. counties, to wit, the county of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlagh, Wexford, Kilkenny, the Kings and the Queenes county, doe contain in them 7400. plowlands, which amounteth to so many pounds for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole 11400. pounds, which summe will yeeld pay unto 1000 souldiours, little wanting, which may be supplied out of other lands of the Cavenaghes, which are to be escheated to her Majesty for the rebellion of their possessors, though otherwise indeede they bee of her owne ancient demesne.

^o *county of Fernes.*] This is part of the county of Wexford. SIR JAMES WARE.

Eudox. It is great reason. But tell us now where you will wish those garrisons to be laide, whether altogether, or to bee disperfed in fundry places of the country?

Iren. Marry, in fundry places, *viz.* in this fort, or much the like as may be better advifed, for 200. in a place I doe thinke to bee enough for the fafeguard of that country, and keeping under all suddaine upstarts, that fhall feeke to trouble the peace thereof: therefore I wish 200. to be laide at Ballinecor for the keeping of all bad perfons from Glan-malor, and all the fastnes thereabouts, and alfo to containe all that fhall be planted in thofe lands thenceforth. Another 200. at Knockelough in their former place of garrifon, to keepe the Bracknagh and all thofe mountaines of the Cavenaghes; 200. more to lie at Fernes, and upwards, inward upon the Slane; 200. to be placed at the fort of Leix, to reftreine the Moores, Upper-Offory, and O-Carrol; other 200. at the fort of Ofaly, to curbe the O-Connors, O-Molloyes, Mac-Coghlan, Mageoghegan, and all thofe Irish nations bordering thereabouts.

Eudox. Thus I fee all your men beftowed in Leinfter: what fay you then of Meath?

Iren. Meath, which containeth both Eaft Meath and Weft Meath, and of late the Annaly now called the county of Longford, is counted therunto: But Meath it felfe, according to the old Records, containeth 4320. plowlands, and the county of Longford 947., which in the whole makes 5267 plowlands, of which the compofition money will amount likewise to 5267 pounds to the maintenance of the garrifon. But becaufe all Meath, lying in the bofome of that kingdome, is alwayes quiet enough, it is needeleffe to put any garrifon there, fo as all that charge may be fpared. But in the county of Longford I wish 200. footmen and 50. horfemen to bee

placed in some convenient feate betweene the Annaly and the Breny, as about Lough Sillon, or some like place of that river, so as they might keepe both the O-Relies, and also the O-Ferrals, and all that out-skirt of Meath in awe; the which use upon every light occasion to be stirring, and, having continuall enmity amongst themselves, doe thereby oftentimes trouble all those parts, the charge whereof being 3400. and odde pounds is to be cut out of that composition money for Meath and Longford, the over-plus, being almost 2000. pounds by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majesty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkening unto. But now that you have done with Meath, proceede (I pray you) to Mounster, that wee may see how it will rise there for the maintenance of the garrison.

Iren. Mounster containeth by Record at Dublin 16000. plow-lands, the composition whereof, as the rest, will make 16000. pounds by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. souldiers to be maintained for the defence of that province, the charge whereof with the victuallers wages, will amount to 1200[0]. pounds by the yeare; the other 4000 pounds will defray the charge of the Presidency and the Councel of that province.

Eudox. The reckoning is easie; but in this accompt, by your leave, (me thinkes) you are deceived, for in this summe of the composition money you accompt the lands of the undertakers of that province, who are, by their graunt from the Queene, to be free from all such impositions whatsoever, excepting their onlie rent, which is surely enough.

Iren. You say true, I did so; but the same 20. shil. for every plowland I meant to have deducted out of that rent due upon them to her Majesty, which is no hinderance, nor charge at all more to her Majesty then it now is, for all that rent which she receives of them, shee

putteth forth againe to the maintenance of the Presidency there, the charge whereof it doth scarcely defray ; whereas in this accompt both that charge of the Presidency, and also of a thousand souldiours more, shall be maintained.

Eudox. It should be well, if it could be brought to that. But now where will you have your thousand men garrifoned ?

Iren. I would have a hundred of them placed at the Bantry where is a most fit place, not onely to defend all that side of the west part from forraine invasión, but also to answere all occasions of troubles, to which that countrey, being so remote, is very subject. And surely there also would be planted a good towne, having both a good haven and a plentiful fishing, and the land being already escheated to her Majesty, but being forcibly kept from her by one that proclaimes himselfe the bastard son of the Earle of Clancar, being called Donell Mac Carty, whom it is meete to foresee to ; for whensoever the Earle shall die, all those lands (after him) are to come unto her Majesty : he is like to make a foule stirre there, though of himselfe no power, yet through supportance of some others who lye in the wind, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another hundred I would have placed at Castle Mayne, which should keepe all Desmond and Kerry, for it answereth them both most conveniently : Also about Kilmore in the county of Corke would I have 2. hundred placed, the which should breake that nest of theives there, and answere equally both to the county of Limericke, and also the county of Corke : Another hundred would I have lye at Corke, aswell to command the towne, as also to be ready for any forraine occasion : Likewise at Waterford, would I place 2. hundred, for the same reasons, and also for other privy causes, that are no lesse important. Moreover on this side of Arlo, near

to Muskery Quirke, which is the countrey of the Burkes, about Kill-Patricke, I would have two hundred more to be garrifond, which should skoure both the White Knights country and Arlo, and Muskery Quirk, by which places all the passages of theives doe lye, which convey their stealth from all Mounster downwards towards Tipperary, and the English Pale, and from the English Pale also up unto Mounster, whereof they use to make a common trade. Besides that, ere long I doubt that the county of Tipperary it selfe will neede such a strength in it, which were good to be there ready before the evill fall, that is dayly of some expected: And thus you see all your garrifons placed.

Eudox. I see it right well, but let me (I pray you) by the way aske you the reason why in those citties of Mounster, namely Waterford and Corke, you rather placed garifons then in all others in Ireland? For they may thinke themselves to have great wrong to bee so charged above all the rest.

Iren. I will tell you: those two citties, above all the rest, do offer an in-gate to the Spaniard most fitly; but yet, because they shall not take exceptions to this that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a charge upon the others likewise; for indeed it is no reason that the corporate townes, enjoying great franchizes and priviledges from her Majesty, and living thereby not onely safe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, should live so free as not to be partakers of the burthen of this garrison for their owne safety, specially in this time of trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened; (and therefore) I will thus charge them all ratably, according to their abilities, towards their maintenance, the which her Majesty may (if she please) spare out of the charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other costes, or else adde to the charge of the Presidency in the North.

Waterford	C.	Clonmell	X.	Dundalke	X.
Corke	L.	Cashell	X.	Mollingare	X.
Limericke	L.	Fedard	X.	Newrie	X.
Galway	L.	Kilkenny	XXV.	Trim	X.
Dinglecush	X.	Wexford	XXV.	Ardee	X.
Kinfale	X.	Tredah	XXV.	Kells	X.
Yoghall	X.	Rofs	XXV.	Dublin	C.
Kilmallock	X.				

In all 580.

Eudox. It is easie, Irenæus, to lay a charge upon any towne, but to foresee how the same may be answered and defrayed is the cheife part of good advisement.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them I know to bee so reasonable as that it will not much be felt; for the port townes that have benefit of shipping may cut it easily off their trading, and inland townes of their corne and cattle: neither do I see, but since to them especially the benefit of peace doth redound, that they especially should beare the burthen of their safeguard and defence, as wee see all the townes of the Low-Countryes doe cut upon themselves an excise of all things towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in their behalfe, to which though these are not to be compared in richesse, yet are they to bee charged according to their povertie.

Eudox. But now that you have thus set up these forces of soldiers, and provided well (as you suppose) for their pay, yet there remaineth to fore-cast how they may bee victualled, and where purveyance thereof may bee made; for in Ireland it selfe I cannot see almost how any thing is to bee had for them, being already so pitifully wasted as it is with this short time of warre.

Iren. For the first two yeares it is needfull indeede that they bee victualled out of England thoroughly, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, aforehand. All which time the English Pale shall not be burdened at all, but shall have time to

recover themselves; and Mounster also, being reasonably well stored, will by that time, (if God send seasonable weather) bee thoroughly well furnished to supply a great part of that charge, for I knowe there is a great plenty of corne sent over sea from thence, the which if they might have sale for at home, they would bee glad to have money so neere hand, specially if they were streightly restrayned from transporting of it. Thereunto also there will bee a great helpe and furtherance given in the putting forward of husbandrie in all meete places, as heereafter shall in due place appeare. But heereafter, when things shall growe unto a better strength, and the countrey be replenished with corne, as in short space it will if it bee well followed, for the countrey people themselves are great plowers, and small spenders of corne, then would I wish that there should bee good store of houses and magazins erected in all those great places of garrison, and in all great townes, as well for the victualling of souldiers and shippes, as for all occasions of suddaine services, as also for preventing of all times of dearth and scarcitie: and this want is much to bee complained of in England above all other countreys, who, trusting too much to the usuall blessing of the earth, doe never fore-cast any such hard seasons, nor any such suddaine occasions as these troublous times may every day bring foorth, when it will bee too late to gather provision from abroad, and to bringe it perhappes from farre for the furnishing of shippes or souldiers, which peradventure may neede to bee presently employed, and whose want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a kingdome.

Eudox. Indeede the want of those magazins of victualls, I have oftentimes complayned of in England, and wondered at in other countreyes, but that is nothing now to our purpose; but as for these garrisons which you have now so strongly planted throughout all Ireland, and every

place swarming with souldiers, shall there bee no end of them? For now thus being (me thinkes) I doe see rather a countrey of warre then of peace and quiet, which you earst pretended to worke in Ireland; for if you bring all things to that quietnesse that you said, what then needeth to maintaine so great forces as you have charged upon it?

Iren. I will unto you, Eudox., in privitie discover the drift of my purpose: I meane (as I tolde you) and doe well hope thereby both to settle an eternall peace in that countrey, and also to make it very profitable to her Majestie, the which I see must bee brought in with a strong hand, and so continued, till it runne in a steadfast course of government, which in this sort will neither bee difficult nor dangerous; for the souldier being once brought in for the service into Ulster, and having subdued it and Connaght, I will not have him to lay downe his armes any more, till hee have effected that which I purpose; that is, first to have this generall composition for maintenance of these throughout all the realme, in regard of the troublous times, and daylie danger which is threatned to this realme by the King of Spaine: And thereupon to bestow all my souldiers in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that realme shall be able to dare to quinch.^P Then will I eftsoones bring in my reformation, and thereupon establish such a forme of government as I may thinke meetest for the good of that realme, which being once settled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt

^P *to dare to quinch.*] To "quinch" means here to *move* or *stir*, and as Richardson, quoting this passage from Spenser, tells us, it is probably the same word as *wince*. It is also met with in North's "Plutarch;" but the reference given by Richardson must be an error, if he copied from the first edition of that old translation in 1579, folio. We have not met with it in any other author; but Stephen Gosson seems to use *queatche* either for "quinch" (i. e. stir) or for *squeak*:—"They shall lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowen, or the constable and officers of their parish watche them so narrowly that they dare not *queatche*, &c. "School of Abuse," 1579, fo. 18. C.

not but they will runne on fairely. And though they would ever seeke to swerve aside, yet shall they not bee able without forreine violence once to remoove, as you your selfe shall soone (I hope) in your own reason readily conceive; which if it shall ever appeare, then may her Majestie at pleasure with-draw some of the garrisons, and turne their pay into her purse, or if shee will never please so to doe (which I would rather wish), then shall shee have a number of brave olde souldiers always ready for any occasion that shee will imploy them unto, supplying their garrisons with fresh ones in their steed; the maintenance of whome shall bee no more charge to her Majestie then now that realme is; for all the revenue thereof, and much more, shee spendeth, even in the most peaceable times that are there, as things now stand. And in time of warre, which is now surely every seventh yeare, shee spendeth infinite treasure besides to small purpose.

Eudox. I perceive your purpose; but now that you have thus strongly made way unto your reformation, and that I see the people so humbled and prepared that they will and must yeeld to any ordinance that shall bee given them, I doe much desire to understand the same; for in the beginning you promised to shewe a meanes how to redresse all those inconveniences and abuses, which you shewed to bee in that state of government, which now stands there, as in the lawes, customs, and religion: wherein I would gladly know first, whether, in steed of those lawes, you would have new lawes made? for now, for ought that I see, you may doe what you please.

Iren. I see, Eudox., that you well remember our first purpose, and doe rightly continue the course thereof. First therefore to speake of lawes, since wee first beganne with them, I doe not thinke it now convenient, though it bee in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make new; for that should breede a great trouble

and confusion, aswell in the English there dwelling and to be planted, as also in the Irish. For the English, having beene alwayes trayned up in the English government, will hardly bee inured to any other, and the Irish will better be drawne to the English, then the English to the Irish government. Therefore sithence wee cannot now apply lawes fit to the people, as in the first institutions of common-wealths it ought to bee, wee will apply the people, and fit them unto the lawes, as it most conveniently may bee. The lawes therefore wee resolve shall abide in the same sort that they doe, both Common Law and Statutes, onely such defects in the Common-law, and inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning wee noted and as men of deeper insight shall advise, may be changed by some other new acts and ordinances to bee by Parliament there confirmed: As those for tryalls of Pleas of the Crowne, and private rights betweene parties, colourable conveyances, and accessaries.

Eudox. But how will those be redressed by Parliament, when as the Irish, which sway most in Parliament (as you said), shall oppose themselves against them?

Iren. That may well now be avoyded: For now that so many Free-holders of English shall bee established, they together with Burgeses of townes, and such other loyall Irish-men as may bee preferred to bee Knights of the shire, and such like, will bee able to beard and to counter-poise the rest; who also, being now more brought in awe, will the more easily submit to any such ordinances as shall bee for the good of themselves, and that realme generally.

Eudox. You say well, for by the increase of Freeholders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented; but how should it passe through the higher house, which still must consist all of Irish?

Iren. Marry, that also may bee redressed by ensample

of that which I have heard was done in the like case by King Edward the Third (as I remember), who, being greatly bearded and crossed by the Lords of the Cleargie, they being there by reason of the Lords Abbots and others, too many and too strong for him, so as hee could not for their frowardnesse order and reforme things as hee desired, was advised to direct out his writts to certaine Gentlemen of the best ability and trust, entitling them therein Barons, to serve and sitt as Barons in the next Parliament. By which meanes hee had so many Barons in his Parliament, as were able to weigh downe the Cleargy and their friends: the which Barons they say, were not afterwarde Lords, but onely Baronets, as fundry of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like device her Majestie may now likewise curbe and cut short those Irish and unruly Lords that hinder all good proceedings.

Eudox. It seemes no lesse then for reforming of all those inconvenient statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redressing of all those evill customes, and lastly, for settling of sound religion amongst them: me thinkes you shall not neede any more to over-goe those particulars againe, which you mentioned, nor any other which might besides be remembred, but to leave all to the reformation of such a Parliament, in which, by the good care of the Lord Deputie and Councell they may all be amended. Therefore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you spake of, and bringing in of that establishment, by which you said all men should be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wresting of things by sharpe punishments.

Iren. I will so at your pleasure, the which (me thinkes) can by no meanes be better plotted then by ensample of such other realmes as have beene annoyed with like evils, that Ireland now is, and useth still to bee. And first in

this our realme of England, it is manifest, by report of the Chronicles and auncient writers, that it was greatly infested with robbers and out-lawes, which, lurking in woods and fast places, used often to breake forth into the high-ways, and sometimes into small villages to rob and spoyle. For redresse whereof it is written that King Alured, or Aldred, did divide the realme into shires,^a and the shires into hundreds, and the hundreds into lathes or wapentackes, and the wapentackes into tythings: So that tenne tythings made an hundred, and five made a lathe or wapentake, of which tenne, each one was bound for another, and the eldest or best of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borfolder, that is, the eldest pledge, became surety for all the rest. So that if any one of them did start into any undutiful action, the Borfolder was bound to bring him forth, when joyning eft-soones with all his tything, [they] would follow that loose person thorough all places, till they brought him in. And if all that tything fayled, then all that lathe was charged for that tything, and if that lathe fayled, then all that hundred was demaunded for them; and if the hundred, then the shire, who, joyning eft-soones together, would not rest till they had found out and delivered in that undutifull fellow which was not amefnable to law. And herein it seemes, that that good Saxon King followed the Counsell of Jethro to Moyfes, who advised him to divide the people into hundreds, and to set Captaines and wise men of trust over them, who should take the charge of them, and ease [him] of that burthen. And so did Romulus (as you may read) divide the Romanes into tribes,^r and the tribes into centuries or

^a *divide the realme into shires.*] De his qui plura scire avet, consulat D. Hen. Spelmanni eq. aur. Archeologum, in Borholder & Hundred. SIR JAMES WARE.

^r *divide the Romanes into tribes.*] Livie speaking of Romulus hath it thus; Populum in curias 30. divisit, &c. Eodem tempore & centuriæ

hundreths. By this ordinance this King brought this realme of England, (which before was most troublesome) unto that quiet state, that no one bad person could stirre but he was straight taken holde of by those of his owne tything, and their Borsholder, who being his neighbor or next kinsman were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life. The which institution (if it were observed in Ireland) would worke that effect which it did in England, and keep all men within the compasse of dutie and obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before; for, as I remember, you said that there was a great disproportion betweene England and Ireland, so as the lawes which were fitting for one would not fit the other. How comes it now then, that you would transferre a principall institution from England to Ireland?

Iren. This law was not made by the Norman Conqueror, but by a Saxon King, at what time England was very like to Ireland, as now it stands: for it was (as I tolde you) annoyed greatly with robbers and out-lawes, which troubled the whole state of the realme, every corner having a Robin Hood in it, that kept the woods, that spoyled all passengers and inhabitants, as Ireland now hath; so as, me thinkes, this ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into awe.

Eudox. Then, when you have thus tythed the communitie, as you say, and set Borsholders over them all, what would you doe when you came to the gentlemen? would you holde the same course?

Iren. Yea, marry, most especially; for this you must know, that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gen-

tres equitum conscriptæ sunt. And so we have it in Sextus Aurel. Victor's booke, *De Viris illustribus urbis Romæ.* *Tres equitum centurias instituit (saith he) plebem in triginta curias distribuit.* SIR JAMES WARE.

tllemen, no leſſe then the Welſh ; for if he can derive himſelfe from the head of any ſept, (as moſt of them can, they are ſo expert by their Bardes) then hee holdeth himſelfe a gentleman, and thereupon ſcorneth to worke, or uſe any hard labour, which hee ſaith is the life of a peaſant or churle ; but thenceforth becommeth either an horſeboy, or a ſtocah to ſome kerne,^s inuring himſelfe to his weapon, and to the gentlemanly trade of ſtealing, (as they count it.) So that if a gentleman, or any wealthy man yeoman of them, have any children, the eldeſt of them perhaps ſhall be kept in ſome order, but all the reſt ſhall ſhift for themſelves, and fall to this occupation. And moreover it is a common uſe amongſt ſome of their gentlemens ſonnes, that ſo ſoone as they are able to uſe their weapons, they ſtraight gather to themſelves three or foure ſtraglers, or kearne, with whom wandring a while up and downe idly the countrey, taking onely meate, hee at laſt falleth unto ſome bad occaſion that ſhall be offered, which being once made known, hee is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whome there is courage ; whereupon there draw to him many other like looſe young men, which, ſtirring him up with encouragement, provoke him ſhortly to flat rebellion ; and this happens not onely ſometimes in the ſonnes of their gentle-men, but alſo of their noble-men, ſpecially of them who have baſe ſonnes. For they are not onely not aſhamed to acknowledge them, but alſo boaſte of them, and uſe them to ſuch ſecret ſervices as they themſelves will not be ſeene in, as to plague their enemies, to ſpoyle their neighbours, to oppreſſe and cruſh

^s or a *ſtocah* to ſome *kerne*.] The word *ſtocah*, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, is probably from the Erſe *ſtoch* ; but it is hardly uſed by Spenſer in the ſenſe of “one who runs at a horſeman’s foot, or of a horſeboy,” as the context clearly proves ; it may be in that of “an attendant or wallet-boy.” So before : “The ſtrength of all that nation, is the kerne, gallo-glaſſe, *ſtocah*, horſeman, and horſeboy, &c.” Where the diſtinction is again preſerved. TODD. Richardson has not the word. C.

some of their owne too stubburne free-holders, which are not tractable to their wills.

Eudox. Then it seemeth that this ordinance of tithing them by the pole is not onely fit for the gentle-men, but also for the noble-men, whom I would have thought to be of so honourable a mind, as that they should not neede such a kinde of being bound to their allegiance, who should rather have held in and stayde all the other from undutifulnesse, then neede to bee forced thereunto themselves.

Iren. Yet so it is, Eudoxus; but because that noble-men cannot be tythed, there being not many tythings of them, and also because a Borfolder over them should be not onely a great indignitie, but also a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the commander of tenne, I holde it meeter that there were onely sureties taken of them, and one bound for another, whereby, if any shall swerve, his sureties shall for safeguard of their bonds either bring him in, or seeke to serve upon him: and besides this, I would wish them all to bee sworne to her Majestie, which they never yet were, but at the first creation; and that oath would sure contayne them greatly, or the breach of it bring them to shorter vengeance, for God useth to punish perjurie sharply. So I reade, that there was a corporall oath taken in the raignes of Edward the Second,^t and of Henry the Seventh,^u (when the times were very broken) of all the lords and best gentle-men, of fealtie to the Kings, which now is no lesse needfull, because many of them are suspected to have taken an other oath privily to some bad purposes, and

^t *Edward the Second.*] Richard the Second. SIR JAMES WARE.

^u *Henry the Seventh.*] The service was performed by Sir Richard Edgecombe, being appointed thereunto by a speciall commission from K. Henry the Seventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his first landing at Kinsale the 27th of June, 1488, till his departure from Dublin the 30th of July next. SIR JAMES WARE.

thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and beene sworn to a priest, which they thinke bindeth them more then their alleagiance to their Prince, or love of their countrey.

Eudox. This tything to the common-people, and taking sureties of lords and gentlemen, I like very well, but that it wilbe very troublesome: should it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the lords and gentle-men to take all the meaner sort upon themselves? for they are best able to bring them in, whensoever any of them starteth out.

Iren. This indeed (*Eudoxus*) hath beene hitherto, and yet is a common order amongst them, to have all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen, but yet the worst order that ever was devised; for by this booking of men all the inferiour sort are brought under the command of their lords, and forced to follow them into any action whatsoever. Now this you are to understand, that all the rebellions which you see from time to time happen in Ireland are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captaines of countries, upon pride or wilfull obstinacy against the government, which whensoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and followers, which thinke themselves bound to goe with them, because they have booked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reason that in England you have such few bad occasions, by reason that the noble men, however they should happen to be evill disposed, should have no commaund at all over the communalty, though dwelling under them, because that every man standeth upon himselfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne faith and firme assurance: the which this manner of tything the poles will worke also in Ireland. For by this the people are broken into many small parts, like little streames, that they cannot easily come together into one head, which is the principall regard that is to be had

in Ireland to keepe them from growing unto such a head, and adhering unto great men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot see how this can bee well brought, without doing great wrong unto the noble men there; for at the first conquest of that realme, those great feignories and lordships were given them by the King, that they should bee the stronger against the Irish, by the multitudes of followers and tennants under them: all which hold their tenements of them by fealty, and such services, whereby they are (by the first graunt of the King) made bounden unto them, and tyed to rise out with them into all occasions of service. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputy hath raised any generall hostings, the noble men have claimed the leading of them, by graunt from the Kings of England under the Greate Seal exhibited; so as the Deputies could not refuse them to have the leading of them, or, if they did, they would so worke, as none of their followers should rise forth to the hostage.

Iren. You say very true; but will you see the fruite of those grants? I have knowne when those lords have had the leading of their owne followers under them to the generall hostings, that they have for the same cut upon every plowland within their country 40. shill. or more, whereby some of them have gathered above seven or eight hundred pounds, and others much more, into their purse, in lieu whereof they have gathered unto themselves a number of loose kearne out of all parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of entertainment, allowed by the countrey or forced by them, but let them feede upon the countryes, and extort upon all men where they come; for that people will never aske better entertainment then to have a colour of service or imployment given them, by which they will pole and spoyle so outragiously, as the very enemy cannot

doe much worfe: and they also sometimes turne to the enemy.

Eudox. It seemes the first intent of those graunts was against the Irish, which now some of them use against the Queene her selfe: But now what remedy is there for this? or how can those graunts of the Kings be avoyded, without wronging of those lords which had those lands and lordships given them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough; for most of those lords, since their first graunts from the Kings by which those lands were given them, have since bestowed the most part of them amongst their kinsfolke, as every lord perhaps hath given in his time one or other of his principall castles to his younger sonne, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him, and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in their first graunt, which now neverthelesse they bring within the compasse thereof, and take and exact upon them, as upon their first demeasnes, all those kinde of services, yea and the very wilde exactions, Coignie, Livery, Sorehon,^x and such like, by which they pole and utterly undoe the poore tennants and freeholders unto them, which either thorough ignorance know not their tenures, or through greatnes of their new lords dare not challenge them; yea, and some lords of countryes also, as great ones as themselves, are now by strong hand brought under them, and made their vassalls. As for example Arundell of the Stronde in the County of Corke, who was aunciently a great lord, and was able to spend 3500. pounds by the yeare, as appeareth by

^x *Coignie, Livery, Sorehon.*] What Coigny and Livery doe signifie, has been already expressed. Sorehon was a tax laide upon the freeholders for certaine dayes in each quarter of a yeare, to finde victualls, and lodging, and to pay certaine stipends to the kerne, galloglasses, and horsemen. SIR JAMES WARE.

good recordes, is now become the Lord Barries man, and doth to him all those services, which are due unto her Majesty. For reformation of all which, I wish that there were a commission graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have seene one recorded in the old councill booke of Mounster, that was sent forth in the time of Sir William Drurie unto persons of speciall trust and judgement to inquire thoroughout all Ireland, beginning with one county first, and so resting a while till the same were settled, by the verdict of a sound and substantiall jury, how every man houldeth his land, of whom, and by what tenure, so that every one should be admitted to shew and exhibite what right he hath, and by what services hee houldeth his land, whether in cheife or in foccage, or by knights service, or how else soever. Thereupon would appeare, first how all those great English lords doe claime those great services, what seigniories they usurpe, what wardships they take from the Queene, what lands of hers they conceale: And then, how those Irish captaines of countreyes have incroached upon the Queenes free-holders and tennants, how they have translated the tenures of them from English houlding unto Irish Tanistry, and defeated her Majesty of all her rights and dutyes which are to acrow to her thereout, as wardships, liveries, mariages, fines of alienations, and many other commodities; which now are kept and concealed from her Majesty to the value of 4000. pounds *per annum*, I dare undertake, in all Ireland, by that which I know in one county.

Eudox. This, Irenæus, would seeme a dangerous commission, and ready to stirre up all the Irish in rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to shew for all those lands which they hould, but their swords, would rather drawe them then suffer the lands to bee thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neither should their lands be taken away from

them, nor the utmost advantages inforced against them: But this by discretion of the commissioners should be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majesties meaning to use any such extreimity, but onely to reduce things into order of English law, and make them hould their lands of her, and to restore to her her due services, which they detaine out of those lands which were aunciently held of her. And that they should not onely not be thrust out, but also have estates and grants of their lands new made to them from her Majesty, so as they should thence-forth hould them rightfully, which they now usurpe wrongfully; and yet withall I would wish, that in all those Irish countryes there were some land reserved to her Majesties free disposition for the better containing of the rest, and intermingling them with English inhabitants and customes, that knowledge might still be had of them, and of all their doings, so as no manner of practise or conspiracy should be had in hand amongst them, but notice should bee given thereof by one meanes or another, and their practises prevented.

Eudox. Truly neither can the Irish, nor yet the English lords, thinke themselves wronged, nor hardly dealt withall herein, to have that which is indeede none of their owne at all, but her Majesties absolutely, given to them with such equall conditions, as that both they may be assured thereof, better then they are, and also her Majesty not defrauded of her right utterly; for it is a great grace in a prince, to take that with conditions which is absolutely her owne. Thus shall the Irish be well satisfied, and as for the great men which had such graunts made to them at first by the Kings of England, it was in regard that they should keepe forth the Irish, and defend the Kings right, and his subjects: but now seeing that, in stead of defending them, they robbe and spoyle them, and, in stead of keeping out the Irish, they

doe not onely make the Irish their tenants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also some of themselves become meere Irish, with marrying with them, with fostering with them, and combyning with them against the Queene; what reason is there but that those graunts and priviledges should bee either revoked, or at least reduced to the first intention for which they were graunted? for sure in mine opinion they are more sharply to bee chastised and reformed then the rude Irish, which, being very wilde at the first, are now become more civill, when as these from civillity are growne to be wilde and meere Irish.

Iren. Indeede as you say, Eudoxus, these doe neede a sharper reformation then the Irish, for they are more stubborne, and disobedient to law and government, then the Irish be.^y

Eudox. In truth, Irenæus, this is more then ever I heard, that any English there should bee worse then the Irish: Lord, how quickly doth that countrey alter mens natures! It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Councell of England thinke it no good policie to have that realme reformed, or planted with English, least they should grow so undutifull as the Irish, and become much more dangerous: as appeareth by the ensamples of the Lacies in the time of Edward the Second, which you spake of, that shooke off their allegiance to their naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, to make him King of Ireland.

Iren. No times have beene without bad men: But as for that purpose of the Councell of England, which you spake of, that they should keepe that realme from re-

^y *then the Irish be.*] In the manuscript belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, there follow two very severe paragraphs. I prefer the text of Sir James Ware, who professes to follow the *best*, that is, I presume, a *corrected*, manuscript. TODD.

formation, I thinke they are most lewdly abused, for their great carefulnesse and earnest endeavours doe witness the contrary. Neither is it the nature of the country to alter mens manners, but the bad mindes of the men, who having been brought up at home under a straight rule of duty and obedience, being alwayes restrained by sharpe penalties from lewde behaviour, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawes more slackely tended, and the hard restraint which they were used unto now slacked, they grow more loose and careless of their duty: and as it is the nature of all men to love liberty, so they become flat libertines, and fall to all licentiousnes, more boldly daring to disobey the law, thorough the presumption of favour and friendship, then any Irish dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be so, (me thinkes) your late advisement was very evill, whereby you wished the Irish to be sowed and sprinckled with English, and in all the Irish countryes to have English planted amongst them, for to bring them to English fashions, since the English sooner drawe to the Irish then the Irish to the English: for as you said before, if they must runne with the streame, the greater number will carry away the lesse: Therefore (me thinkes) by this reason it should bee better to part the Irish and English, then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, Eudoxus; for where there is no good stay of government, and strong ordinances to hould them, there indeede the fewer follow the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall goe foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore now, since Ireland is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke it best by an union of manners, and conformity of mindes, to bring

them to be one people, and to put away the dislikefull conceipt both of the one, and the other, which will be by no meanes better then by this intermingling of them: For neither all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translating of them and scattering them amongst the English, not onely to bring them by dayly conversation unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tithe them one with another, and for the most part will make an Irish man the tything-man, whereby he shall take the lesse exception to partiality, and yet be the more tyed thereby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lathe, him will I make an English man, or an Irish man of speciall assurance: as also when I come to appoint the Alderman, that is the head of the hundreth, him will I surely choose to be an English man of speciall regard, that may be a stay and pillar of all the borough under him.

Eudox. What doe you meane by your hundred, and what by your borough? By that, that I have read in auncient records of England, an hundred did containe an hundreth villages, or as some say an hundred ploughlands, being the same which the Saxons called Cantred;²

² *Cantred.*] Cantred is a Brittish word, answering to the Saxon Hundred. How much land a cantred containeth, is variously delivered. Some hould that it containes 100 townes. So Gir. Barry or Cambrensis, in his Itinerary of Wales, (lib. 2. cap. 7.) “Dicitur autem cantredus, (saith he) composito vocabulo tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terra portio, quanta 100. villas continere solet.” The author here cites a record which makes it containe but 30. towne-lands; and John Clynn, (if my copy therein be not mistaken) hath but 20. But another more auncient MS. sometime belonging to the Friars Minors of Multi-fernan, hath 30. “Quælibet cantreda (saith Clinne) continet xx. (al. xxx.) villatas terræ, quælibet villata potest sustinere 300 vaccas in pascuis, ita quod vaccæ in X. (al. 1111.) partes divisa, nulla alteri appropinquabit, quælibet villata continet viii. carucatas.” We finde also there

the which cantred, as I finde it recorded in the blacke booke of [the Exchequer of] Ireland, did contain xxx. Villatas terræ, which some call, quarters of land, and every Villata can maintaine 400 cowes in pasture, and the 400. cowes to be divided into 4. heards, so as none of them shall come neere other: every Villata containing 18. plowlands, as is there set downe. And by that which I have read of a borough it signifieth a free towne, which had a principall officer, called a head-borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, having, for the same franchises and priviledges graunted them by the King, whereof it was called a free borough, and of the lawyers *franci-plegium*.

Iren. Both that which you said, Eudoxus, is true, and yet that which I say not untrue; for that which you spake of deviding the countrey into hundreds was a devision of the lands of the realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, which were thus devided by the pole: so that hundreth in this sense signifieth a 100. pledges, which were under the command and assurance of their alderman, the which (as I suppose) was also called a wapentake, so named of touching the weapon or speare of their alderman, and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly. But others thinke that a wapentake was 10. hundreds or boroughs: Likewise a borough, as I here use it, and as the old lawes still use, is not a borough towne, as they now call it, that is a franchised towne, but a maine pledge of 100. free persons, therefore called a free borough or (as you say) *franci-plegium*: For Borh in old Saxon signifieth a pledge or surety, and yet it is so

the provinces of Ireland thus divided into cantreds. Ultonia continet 35. cantredas, Conacia 30. Lagenia 31. Midia 18. & Momonia 70. See more concerning cantreds in Sir Hen. Spelman's excellent Glossary. As cantreds are diversly estimated, so are also carues or plowlands. SIR JAMES WARE.

used with us in some speeches, as Chaucer saith ; St. John to *borrow*,^a that is for assurance and warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the difference. But now that you have thus devided the people into these tythings and hundreths, how will you have them so preserved and continued ? for people doe often change their dwelling places, and some must die, whilst other some doe growe up into strength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. These hundreds I would wish to assemble themselves once every yeare with their pledges, and to present themselves before the justices of the peace, which shall bee thereunto appointed, to bee surveyed and numbred, to see what change hath happened since the yeare before ; and, the defects to supplie of young plants late growne up, the which are diligently to bee overlooked and viewed of what condition and demeanour they be, so as pledges may bee taken for them, and they put into order of some tything : of all which alterations note is to be taken, and bookes made thereof accordingly.

Eudox. Now (mee thinkes) Irenæus, you are to bee warned to take heede, lest unawares you fall into that inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others ; namely, that by this booking of them, you doe not gather them into a new head, and having broken their former strength, doe not unite them more strongly againe : For every alderman, having all these free pledges of his hundred under his command, may (me thinkes) if hee be evill disposed drawe all his companie into an evill action. And likewise, by this assembling of them once a yeare unto their alderman by their weapentakes, take heede lest you also give them occasion and meanes to practise together in any conspiracyes.

^a *to borrow.*] Spenser uses the word in the same sense in his "Shepheards Calender." TODD. It occurs there twice ; see vol. i. pp. 60. 105. Our poet also employs it in his F. Q. vol. iv. p. 416. C.

Iren. Neither of both is to be doubted; for their aldermen and headboroughes will not be such men of power and countenance of themselves, being to be chosen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither, if hee were, is his hundred at his commaund further then his Princes service; and also every tything man may controll him in such a case. And as for the assembling of the hundred, much lesse is any danger thereof to be doubted, seeing it is before some justice of the peace, or some high constable to bee thereunto appointed: So as of these tythings there can no perill ensue, but a certaine assurance of peace and great good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and subjected to the Prince. Moreover for the better breaking of these heads and septs, which (I told you) was one of the greatest strengthes of the Irish, me thinkes, it should bee very well to renewe that ould statute which was made in the raigne of Edward^b the Fourth in Ireland, by which it was commaunded, that whereas all men^c then used to be called by the name of their septs, according to the severall nations, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each once should take upon himselfe a severall surname, either of his trade and facultie, or of some quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, wherby they shall not onely not depend upon the head of their sept, as now they do, but also in time learne quite to forget his Irish nation. And herewithall would I also

^b *in the raigne of Edward.*] An. 5 Edw. 4. SIR JAMES WARE.

^c *that whereas all men.*] The statute referres onely to the Irish, dwelling among the English, in the counties of Dublin, Meth, Uriel, and Kildare. Uriel, called also Ergallia, did anciently comprehend all that countrey which is now divided into the counties of Louth and Monaghan, although it may be conceived, that Louth was onely intended by the statute, because Monaghan was then (in a manner) wholly possessed by the Irish. SIR JAMES WARE.

wish all the O's and the Mac's, which the heads of septs have taken to their names, to bee utterly forbidden and extinguished; for that the same being an ordinance (as some say) first made by O'Brien^d for the strengthening of the Irish, the abrogating thereof will asmuch enfeeble them.

Eudox. I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus divided and distinguished them, what other order will you take for their manner of life?^e

Iren. The next thing that I will doe shalbe to appoint to every one, that is not able to live of his free-holde, a certaine trade of life, to which he shall finde himselfe fittest, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade hee shalbe bound to follow, and live onely thereupon. All trades therefore are to be understood to be of three kindes, manuell, intellectuall, and mixed. The first containeth all such as needeth exercise of bodily labour to the performance of their profession. The second consisting only of the exercise of wit and reason. The third sort, part of bodily labor, and part of the wit, but depending most of industrie and carefulnes. Of the first sort be all handycrafts and husbandry labour. Of the second be all sciences, and those which be called liberall arts. Of the third is merchandize and chafferie, that is, buying and selling; and without all these three there is no commonwealth can almost consist, or at the least be perfect. But the realme of Ireland wanteth the most principall of

^d *O'Brien.*] The custome of prefixing the vowell O to many of the chiefe Irish furnames, began soone after the yeere M. in the raigne of Brien Boroma (the son of Kennethy) king of Ireland. As for Mac in furnames, it beareth no other signification, then Fitz doth among the French, and (from them) the English; and Ap with the Welsh. And although it were more anciently used then the other, yet it varied according to the fathers name, and became not so soone fully settled in families. SIR JAMES WARE.

^e *manner of life.*] Another severe remark here follows in the manuscript mentioned in the note on p. 473. TODD.

them, that is, the intellectuall; therefore in seeking to reforme her state it is specially to be looked unto. But because by husbandry, which supplyeth unto us all things necessary for food, wherby we chiefly live, therefore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therefore that wee are to draw these new tythed men into, ought to be husbandry. First, because it is the most easie to be learned, needing onely the labour of the body. Next, because it is most generall and most needful; then, because it is most naturall; and lastly, because it is most enemy to warre, and most hateth unquietnes: As the Poet saith,

—— “bella execrata colonis:”

for husbandry being the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industrie and labour, detesteth all that may worke her scathe, and destroy the travaile of her hands, whose hope is all her lives comfort unto the plough: therefore are those Kearne, Stocaghes, and Horse-boys, to bee driven and made to imploy that ablenesse of bodie, which they were wont to use to theft and villainy, hencefoorth to labour and industry. In the which, by that time they have spent but a little paine, they will finde such sweetenesse and happy contentment, that they will afterwarde hardly bee haled away from it, or drawne to their wonted lewde life in theeverie and roguerie. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not onely to bee countenanced and encouraged by all good meanes, but also provided that their children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succeede in the roomes of their fathers. To which end there is a Statute^f in Ireland already well provided, which commaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmen shall be trained up in their

^f *there is a Statute.*] Anno 25^o Hen. 6. SIR JAMES WARE.

fathers trades, but it is (God wot) very slenderly executed.

Eudox. But doe you not count, in this trade of husbandry, pasturing of cattle, and keeping of their cowes? for that is reckoned as a part of husbandrie.

Iren. I know it is, and needefully to bee used, but I doe not meane to allow any of those able bodies, which are able to use bodily labour, to follow a few cowes grazeing, but such impotent persons, as being unable for strong travaile, are yet able to drive cattle to and fro to their pasture; for this keeping of cowes is of it selfe a very idle life, and a fit nurserie for a thiefe. For which cause (you remember) I disliked the Irish manner of keeping Boolies in Summer upon the mountaines, and living after that savage sort. But if they will algates feede many cattle, or keepe them on the mountaines, let them make some townes neare to the mountaines side, where they may dwell together with neighbours, and be conversant in the view of the world. And, to say truth, though Ireland bee by nature counted a great foyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better mannered, then to have such huge increase of cattle, and no increase of good conditions. I would therefore wish that there were some ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twentie kine should keep a plough going, for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage, and none to husbandry, which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usuall stealthes in Ireland: For looke into all countreyes that live in such sort by keeping of cattle, and you shall finde that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and also greatly given to warre. The Tartarians, the Muscovites, the Norwegians, the Gothes, the Armenians, and many other doe witnesse the same. And therefore since now wee purpose to draw the Irish from desire of warre

and tumults, to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great custome of h[e]ardening, and augment their trade of tillage and husbandrie. As for other occupations and trades, they need not bee inforced to, but every man to be bound onely to follow one that hee thinkes himselfe aptest for. For other trades of artificers will be occupied for very necessitie, and constrained use of them; and so likewise will merchandize for the gaine thereof; but learning, and bringing up in liberall sciences, will not come of it selfe, but must bee drawne on with streight lawes and ordinances: And therefore it were meete that such an act were ordained, that all the sonnes of lords, gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in learning, should be trayned up therein from their child-hoods. And for that end every parish should be forced to keepe a pettie schoole-master, adjoyning unto the parish church, to bee the more in view, which should bring up their children in the first elements of letters: and that, in every countrey or baronie, they should keepe an other able schoole-master, which should instruct them in grammar, and in the principles of sciences,^s to whom they should be compelled to

^s *in the principles of sciences.*] How requisite also an universitie is, for the further growth in learning, the judicious well know. This happinesse we now enjoy, to the great benefit of this land. And although former attempts have beene made for erecting and establishing universities in Ireland, yet through want of meanes, which should have beene allotted for their maintenance, they have soone faded. So hapned it with that academy which Alexander de Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin, erected (in S. Patricks Church) in Dublin, and procured to be confirmed by Pope John the 12th. And no better succeeded that which was afterwards erected at Tredagh by act of parliament Anno 5. Edw. 4. (as appeares in the roll of that yeare in the Chauncery) whereby all the like priviledges, as the University of Oxford (in England) enjoyed, were conferred upon it. Besides these wee finde mention of others farre more ancient, as at Armagh, and Ross. Carbry, or Ross. Ailithry, as it is called in the life of S. Faghnan the founder, who lived in the yeare 590. “Ipse Sanctus (saith the author) in australi Hiberniæ plagâ juxta

send their youth to bee disciplined, whereby they will in short space grow up to that civill conversation, that both the children will loath their former rudenesse in which they were bred, and also their parents will, even by the ensample of their young children, perceive the foulnesse of their own behaviour compared to theirs: for learning hath that wonderfull power in it selfe, that it can soften and temper the most sterne and savage nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bring them from their uncivill life sooner then learning and discipline, next after the knowledge and feare of God. And therefore I doe still expect, that you should come thereunto, and set some order for reformation of religion, which is first to bee respected; according to the saying of CHRIST, "Seeke first the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousnesse thereof."

Iren. I have in minde so to doe; but let me (I pray you) first finish that which I had in hand, whereby all the ordinances which shall afterwarde bee set for religion may abide the more firmly, and bee observed more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto some honest trade of life, which shall bee particularly entered and set downe in the tything booke, yet perhappes there will bee some stragglers and runnagates which will not of themselves come in and yeeld themselves to this order, and yet after the well finishing of the present warre, and establishing of the garrisons in all strong places of the countrey, where the[i]re wonted refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out, or if they doe, they will shortly bee brought in by the eares: But yet afterwarde, lest any one of them should swerve, or any

mare, in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit, ibi crevit civitas, in qua semper manens magnum studium scholarium, quod dicitur Rossailithry, habitabat." But a further search were fit to bee made touching those of the elder times. SIR JAMES WARE.

that is tyed to a trade should afterwarde not follow the same, according to this institution, but should straggle up and downe the countrey, or mich in corners^h amongst their friends idly, as Carrowes, Bardes, Jesters, and such like, I would wishe that a Provost Marshall should bee appointed in every shire, which should continually walke about the countrey, with halfe a dozen, or halfe a score horsemen, to take up such loose persons as they should finde thus wandering, whome hee should punish by his owne authority, with such paines as the person shall seeme to deserve: for if hee be but once so taken idly roguing, hee may punish him more lightly, as with stockes, or such like; but if hee bee found againe so loytering, hee may scourge him with whippes, or rodde, after which if hee bee againe taken, let him have the bitternesse of marshall lawe. Likewise if any reliques of the olde rebellion bee found by any, that either have not come in and submitted themselves to the law, or that having once come in, doe breake forth againe, and walke disorderly, let them taste of the same cuppe in Gods name; for it was due to them for their first guilt, and now being revived by their later loosenesse, let them have their first desert, as now being found unfit to live in the commonwealth.

Eudox. This were a good ordinance; but mee thinkes it is an unnecessary charge, and also unfit to continue the name or forme of any marshall law, when as there is a proper officer already appointed for these turnes, to wit the sheriffe of the shire, whose peculiar office it is to walke up and downe his bayli-wicke, as you would have

^h or mich in corners.] The word *micher* is used by Chaucer to denote a thief or vagabond, Rom. R. 6541. edit. Urr. And Mr. Tyrwhitt cites the following usage of the verb: "*Mychyn* or pryvely stelyn smale thyngs. Surripio. *Prompt. Parv.*" See also Cotgrave in V. "*To miche*, estre vilain." Todd. Richardson gives the Fr. *miche* as the etymology, to *mich* being to steal small things. C.

a marshall, to snatch up all those runnagates and unprofitable members, and to bring them to his gaole to bee punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not so, me thinkes; for though the sheriffe have this authority of himselfe to take up all such stragglers, and imprison them, yet shall hee not doe so much good, nor worke that terrour in the hearts of them, that a marshall will, whom they shall know to have power of life and death in such cases, and especially to bee appointed for them: Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertaine to the sheriffe, the sheriffe may doe therein what hee can, and yet the marshall may walke his course besides; for both of them may doe the more good, and more terrifie the idle rogue, knowing that though he have a watch upon the one, yet hee may light upon the other. But this proviso is needefull to bee had in this case, that the sheriffe may not have the like power of life as the marshall hath, and as heretofore they have beene accustomed; for it is dangerous to give power of life into the hands of him which may have benefit by the parties death, as, if the said loose liver have any goods of his owne, the Sheriffe is to seize thereupon, whereby it hath come to passe, that some who have not deserved judgement of death, though otherwise perhaps offending, have beene for their goods sake caught up, and carryed straight to the bough; a thing indeed very pittiful and horrible. Therefore by no meanes I would have the Sheriffe have such authority, nor yet to imprison that lozell till the sessions, for so all gaoles might soon be filled, but to send him to the Marshall, who, eftsóones finding him faultie, shall give him meete correction, and ridd him away forthwith.

Eudox. I doe now perceive your reason well. But come wee now to that whereof we earst spake, I meane,

to religion and religious men ; what order will you set amongst them ?

Iren. For religion little have I to say, my selfe being (as I said) not professed therein, and it selfe being but one, so as there is but one way therein ; for that which is true onely is, and the rest is not at all, yet in planting of religion thus much is needfull to be observed, that it bee not fought forcibly to bee impressed into them with terrour and sharpe penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildnesse and gentlenesse, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that some discrete Ministers of their owne countrey-men bee first sent over amongst them, which by their meeke perswasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to imbrace, the doctrine of their salvation ; for if that the auncient godly Fathers, which first converted them, when they were infidells, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganisme to the true beliefe in CHRIST, as S. Patrickke, and S. Columb, how much more easily shall godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already professed ? wherein it is great wonder to see the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popish Priests, and the Ministers of the Gospell ; for they spare not to come out of Spaine, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and daungerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richesse is to be found, onely to draw the people unto the Church of Rome ; whereas some of our idle Ministers, having a way for credite and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the countrey offered unto them, without paines, and without perill, will neither for the fame, nor any love of God, nor zeale of religion,

nor for all the good they may doe by winning foules to God, bee drawne foorth from their warme neastes to looke out into Gods harvest, which is even ready for the fickle, and all the fields yellow long agoe: doubtlesse those good olde godly Fathers will (I feare mee) rise up in the day of judgement to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, it is great pittie, Iren., that there are none chossen out of the Ministers of England, good, sober, and discreet men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instruct them, and that there is not asmuch care had of their foules as of their bodies; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over they should doe smal good till one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they bee restrayned from sending their yong men abroad to other Universities beyond the sea, as Remes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and others from abroad bee restrayned for comming into them; for their lurking secretly in their houses and in corners of the countrey doe more hurt and hinderance to religion with their private perswasions, then all the others can doe good with their publique instructions; and though for these latter there be a good statute there ordained, yet the same is not executed, and as for the former there is no law nor order for their restraint at all.

Eudox. I marvaile it is no better looked unto, and not only this, but that also which, I remember, you mentioned in your abuses concerning the profits and revenewes of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine colourable conveyances are sent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others against her Majestie, for which here in England there is good order taken; and why not then aswell in Ireland? For though there be no statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majestie, by her onely prerogative, seize

the fruites and profites of those fugitive lands into her handes, till they come over to testifie their true allegiance.

Iren. Indeede shee might so doe; but the comberous times doe perhappes hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave confiderations, but proceed we forward. Next care in religion is to build up and repayre all the ruined churches, whereof the most part lye even with the ground, and some that have bin lately repayred are so unhandsomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomelineffe thereof: therefore I would wishe that there were order taken to have them built in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shew (assure your selfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever some of our late too nice fooles say, there is nothing in the seemely forme and comely order of the church. And, for the keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Church-wardens of the gravest men in the parish be appointed, as they bee here in England, which should take the yearely charge both hereof, and also of the schoole-houses, which I wish to be built neere the said churches; for maintenance of both which, it were meete that some small portion of lands were allotted, sith no more mortmaines are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeede (me thinkes) it would be so convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your churches served, and your Ministers maintained? since the livings (as you say) are not sufficient scarce to make them gownes, much lesse to yeelde meete maintenance according to the dignity of their degree.

Iren. There is no way to helpe that, but to lay 2. or 3. of them together, untill such time as the countrey grow more rich and better inhabited, at which time the tythes and other obventions will also be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the 3. sorts of trades, and set a course for their good establishment, let us (if it please you) goe next to some other needefull points of other publicke matters, no lesse concerning the good of the commonwealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And first I wish that order were taken for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, so that a wide way of the space of 100. yards might be layde open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perillous places to be robbed, and sometimes murdered. Next, that bridges were built upon the rivers, and all the fordes marred and split, so as none might passe any other way but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a gate-house set thereon; whereof this good will come that no night stealths, which are commonly driven in by-ways and by blinde fordes unused of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they use, but they must passe by those bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or easily tracked, or not suffered to passe at all, by meanes of those gate-houses thereon: Also that in all straights and narrow passages, as betweene 2. boggs, or through any deepe foord, or under any mountaine side, there should be some little fortilage, or wooden castle set, which should keepe and command that straight, whereby any rebells that should come into the country might be stopped that way, or passe with great perill. Moreover, that all high wayes should be fenced and shut up on both sides, leaving onely 40. foote bredth for passage, so as none shall be able to passe but through the high wayes,

whereby theeves and night robbers might be the more easily pursued and encountred, when there shall be no other way to drive their stolne cattle but therein, as I formerly declared. Further, that there should bee in sundry convenient places, by the high wayes, townes appointed to bee built, the which should be free Burgeses, and incorporate under Bayliffes, to be by their inhabitants well and strongly intrenched, or otherwise fenced with gates on each side thereof, to be shut nightly, like as there is in many places in the English Pale, and all the wayes about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should passe but through those townes: To some of which it were good that the priviledge of a market were given, the rather to strengthen and inable them to their defence, for there is nothing doth sooner cause civility in any countrie then many market townes, by reason that people repairing often thither for their needes, will dayly see and learne civil manners of the better sort. Besides, there is nothing doth more stay and strengthen the country then such corporate townes, as by prooffe in many rebellions hath appeared, in which when all the countreyes have swerved, the townes have stood fast, and yeelded good releife to the souldiours in all occasions of services. And lastly there is nothing doth more enrich any country or realme then many townes; for to them will all the people drawe and bring the fruites of their trades, aswell to make money of them, as to supply their needefull uses; and the countrymen will also be more industrious in tillage, and rearing of all husbandry commodities, knowing that they shall have ready sale for them at those townes: and in all those townes should there be convenient innes erected for the lodging and harbouring of travellers, which are now oftentimes spoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatched houses, for want of such safe places to shroude them in.

Eudox. But what profit shall your market townes reape of their market, when as each one may sell their corne and cattle abroad in the country, and make their secret bargaines amongst themselves, as now I understand they use?

Iren. Indeede, Eudoxus, they do so, and thereby no small inconvenience doth rise to the commonwealth; for now, when any one hath stolne a cowe or a garron, he may secretly sell it in the country without privity of any, whereas if he brought it to a market towne it would perhaps be knowne, and the theife discovered. Therefore it were good that a straight ordinance were made, that none should buy or sell any cattle but in some open market (there being now market townes every where at hand) upon a great penalty; neither should they likewise buy any corne to sell the same againe, unlesse it were to make malt thereof; for by such ingrossing and regrating wee see the dearth that now commonly raigneth here in England to have beene caused. Hereunto also is to be added that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all Ireland, That all men should marke their cattle with an open severall marke upon their flanks or buttocks, so as if they happened to be stolne, they might appeare whose they were, and they which should buy them might thereby suspect the owner, and be warned to abstaine from buying them of a suspected person with such an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely these ordinances seeme very expedient, but specially that of free townes, of which I wonder there is so small store in Ireland and that in the first peopling and planting thereof they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted; for there were, through all places of the country convenient, many good townes seated, which thorough that inundation of the Irish, which

I first told you of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be seene, and of some no signe at all remaining, save only their bare names, but their seats are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then commeth it to passe, that they have never since been recovered, nor their habitations reedified, as of the rest which have beene no lesse spoyled and wasted?

Iren. The cause thereof was for that, after their desolation, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings, under colour to repaire them and gather the poore reliques of the people againe together, of whom having obtained them, they were so farre from reedifying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavoured to keepe them waste, least that, being repaired, their charters might be renewed, and their Burgesse restored to their lands, which they had now in their possession; much like as in those old monuments of abbeyes, and religious houses, we see them likewise use to doe: For which cause it is judged that King Henry the Eight bestowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they should never bee able to rise againe. And even so doe these Lords, in these poore old corporate townes, of which I could name divers but for kindling of displeasure. Therefore as I wished many corporate townes to be erected, so would I againe wish them to be free, not depending upon the service, nor under the commaund of any but the Governour. And being so, they will both strengthen all the country round about them, which by their meanes will be the better replenished and enriched, and also be as continuall houldes for her Majesty, if the people should revolt or breake out againe; for without such it is easie to forrage and over-run the whole land. Let be, for ensample, all those free-boroughes in the low-countrys, which are now all the strength thereof. These and

other like ordinances might be delivered for the good establishment of the realme, after it is once subdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very easily kept and maintained, with small care of the Governours and Councill there appointed, so as it should in short space yeeld a plentiful revenue to the crowne of England; which now doth but sucke and consume the treasure thereof, through those unsound plots and changefull orders which are dayly devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your discourse I have not marked any thing by you spoken touching the appointment of the principall Officer, to whom you wish the charge and performance of all this to be committed: Onely I observed some fowle abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours, the reformation whereof you left of for this present place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the blames of great Magistrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore their reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the wisdom of greater heads to be considered: only thus much I will speake generally thereof, to satisfie your desire, that the Government and cheife Magistracy I wish to continue as it doth; to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Justice, for that it is a very safe kinde of rule: but there-withall I wish that over him there were placed also a Lord Lieutenant, of some of the greatest personages in England, such a one I could name,¹ upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, and our last hopes now rest; who being intituled with that dignity, and being here alwayes resident, may backe and defend the good course of that government against all maligners, which else will, through their cunning working under

¹ *such a one I could name, &c.*] Meaning the Earl of Essex. TODD.

hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing shall be begun or intended there, as we commonly see by experience at this day, to the utter ruine and desolation of that poore realme: and this Lieutenancy should be no discountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a strengthening of all his doings; for now the cheife evill in that government is, that no Governour is suffered to goe on with any one course, but upon the least information here, of this or that, hee is either stopped and crossed, or other courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this houre too well felt. And therefore this should be one principall in the appointing of the Lord Deputies authority, that it should bee more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrouled power to doe any thing that he with the advisement of the Councell should thinke meete to be done: for it is not possible for the Councell here, to direct a Governour there, who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the necessitie of present actions, and to take the suddaine advantage of time, which being once lost will not bee recovered; whilst, through expecting direction from hence, the delays whereof are oftentimes through other greater affaires most irkesome, the oportunityes there in the meane time passe away, and great danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped. And this (I remember) is worthily observed by Machiavel in his discourses upon Livie, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans government, in giving absolute power to all their Councillors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwards dearely answer: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italy, who use to limit their cheife officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy occasions as they

could never come unto againe. The like whereof, who so hath beene conversant in that government of Ireland, hath too often seene to their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this I could wish to be redressed, and yet not so but that in particular things he should be restrained, though not in the generall government; as namely in this, that no offices should bee sould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, nor no protections bought for reward, nor no beoves taken for Captainries of countreyes, nor no shares of Bishopricks for nominating Bishops, nor no forfeitures, nor dispensations with pœnall Statutes given to their servants or friends, nor no selling of licences for transportation of prohibited wares, and specially of corne and flesh, with many the like; which neede some manner of restrainte, or else very great trust in the honorable disposition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, Eudoxus, as briefly as I could, and as my memorie would serve me, run through the state of that whole country, both to let you see what it now is, and also what it may bee by good care and amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the policy of so great a kingdome, or prescribe rules to such wise men as have the handling thereof, but onely to shew you the evils, which in my small experience I have observed to be the cheife hinderance of the reformation; and by way of conference to declare my simple opinion for the redresse thereof, and establishing a good course for government; which I doe not deliver as a perfect plot of mine owne invention, to be onely followed, but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of very wise Governours and Councillours whom I have (sometimes) heard treat hereof. So have I thought good to set downe a remembrance of them for my owne good, and your satisfaction, that who so list to overlooke them, although perhaps much wiser then they

which have thus advised of that state, yet at least, by comparison hereof, may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others fore-going him may follow after with more ease, and haply finde a fairer way thereunto then they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thanke you, Irenæus, for this your gentle paines; withall not forgetting, now in the shutting up, to put you in minde of that which you have formerly halfe promised, that hereafter when wee shall meete againe upon the like good occasion, you will declare unto us those your observations which you have gathered of the Antiquities of Ireland.

GLOSSARY.

V

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GLOSSARY.



BORD, across, iv. 356
Abayd, to awake, to rouse, ii. 359; iii. 149, 173, 184
Abye, to abide, to suffer for, ii. 155, 226, 417, 453; iii. 178, 352; iv. 250
Acates, provisions, ii. 249
Accloy, or *acloy*, to burden, to encumber, i. 27, 198
Accofte, to go side by side, iv. 15
Accoy, to coy, to caress, iii. 230
Acoy, to reduce, to assuage, i. 23
Accoyld, encircled, ii. 249
Accrew, to increase, iii. 182
Acquit, to release, to free, i. 300
Adaw, to daunt, to subdue, to reduce, i. 27; iii. 185, 387, 455
Addeem, to judge, to doom, iv. 164
Addrefs, to clothe, iv. 187
Addrest, prepared, iii. 147
Adore, to adorn, iii. 289
Adrad, fearful, iv. 365
Advengement, revenge, iii. 126
Adview, to observe, to see, iii. 346
Advifing, looking at, iii. 112
Adward, award, iii. 255
Æmuling, emulating, v. 34
Ætna, a volcano, ii. 374
Affrap, to encounter, to meet, to strike, ii. 94, 364
Affret, an encounter, a meeting, iii. 6, 109, 125

Affront, to encounter, to confront, to oppose, i. 306; ii. 165, 406; iii. 130
Aggrate, to gratify, to propitiate, ii. 462; iv. 8
Aglet, point, tag, iv. 60
Agriſe, to dread, to terrify, ii. 190; iii. 214; iv. 264
Aguize, to dress, to adorn, ii. 96, 175; iv. 408
Alablaſter, alabaſter, ii. 377
Alegge, to alleviate, to allay, ii. 367
Alew, howling, iii. 396
Algates, entirely, all manner of ways, ii. 87
Alleggeance, alleviation, ii. 440
Alls, alſo, likewise, i. 157
Amate, to confound, to daunt, ii. 110; iii. 49; iv. 248
Amenance, carriage, behaviour, ii. 222, 240; iii. 124; iv. 413
Amis, a kind of veſtment, i. 232
And for ing, the participle, i. 86
Apaid, ſatisfied, paid, ii. 314; iv. 23
Apes on the ſhoulders of fools, iii. 12
Appele, to accuſe, iii. 457
Appellation, appeal, iv. 254
Arew, on a row, iv. 33; v. 88
Arraught, ſeized, reached, ii. 272
Arret, to allot, to appoint, ii. 218, 289, 488; iii. 166
Aßoil, to abſolve, to free, ii. 40, 165, 496; iii. 194; iv. 276; v. 121

- Aſot*, to beſot, to ſtupify, to dull, i. 36; ii. 263
Aſtert, to affright, to alarm, i. 131
Aſtoined, or *aſtonied*, aſtoniſhed, ſurpriſed, v. 12
Aſtond, ſtunned, i. 206
Atone, at one, ii. 95
Attone, to agree, to accord, v. 2
Attone, at once, iii. 2, 244
Avale, to lower, to deſcend, to alight, i. 19, 111, 183; ii. 242; iii. 139, 256
Avize, or *Aviſe*, adviſe, iii. 71
Avoure, avowry, iv. 91
Awhape, to terrify, to frighten, iii. 195; iv. 12, 388
Aygulets, or *aglets*, eyelets, ii. 134

Bace, priſoner's baſe, or baſe, i. 115; iii. 425
Baffle, to diſgrace utterly, iii. 352
Baile, power, limit, iv. 258
Balk, to croſs, to baffle, ii. 366
Balk, to diſappoint, to defeat, to treat with contempt, iii. 258
Balk, a ridge, a furrow, iv. 213
Ban, to forbid, ii. 377
Ban, to curſe, iii. 236, 327; iv. 5; v. 212
Banneral, a ſmall flag, iv. 147
Barbican, a watch-tower, ii. 247
Baſanet, head-piece, iv. 52
Baſcimans, kiſſing hands, ii. 357
Bate, bit, or did bite, ii. 161
Batteilant, embattled, v. 5
Battil, to fatten, iv. 169
Bawn, building, habitation, v. 389
Bay, a ſtand-ſtill, iii. 190
Beathed, bathed, plunged, iii. 195
Beauperes, fair companions, ii. 350
Behave, to employ, to uſe, ii. 139
Behight, called, deemed, judged, i. 63; iii. 100
Behight, commanded, ii. 293
Behight, entrusted, committed, ii. 39, 219; iii. 443
Behight, promiſed, ii. 125; iii. 156, 189, 274
Belaccoyle, fair ſalutation, or greet- ing, iii. 184

Belay, to beſiege, to inveſt, to be- leaguer, v. 123
Belgardes, ſweet looks, ii. 134
Belive, promptly, quickly, i. 110, 256
Bellamy, a fair friend, a sweetheart, ii. 211
Bents, ſtalks of graſs, iv. 95
Befits, beſuits, befits, becomes, ii. 196; iii. 110
Betake, to commit, entruſt, deliver, ii. 75; iv. 225
Beteem, to allow, to ſuffer, ii. 222
Bid the baſe, to challenge as to ſpeed, iii. 44
Blatter, to rail, to rage, v. 317
Blend, to blind, to confound, ii. 332; iii. 135; v. 148
Blent, blinded, confounded, con- fused, ii. 144, 160
Blent, blended, mingled, iv. 43
Blin, to ceaſe, ii. 433
Blift, wounded, iv. 161
Blive, quickly, ſpeedily, ii. 131
Blunt, ignorant, rude, v. 57
Bodrages, border ravages, ii. 282; v. 42
Bolt, to fiſt, to canvaſs, ii. 150
Bolts, arrows, ſhafts, i. 38
Boon, goods, &c. obtained by peti- tion, ii. 476
Bord, to accoſt, to approach, to ad- vance towards, ii. 109, 150
Bord, a jeſt, a gibe, a quip, ii. 388; iii. 146
Bordragings, incuſſions, ravages, ii. 282; v. 42
Borrel, ruſtic, clowniſh, i. 83
Borrow, pledge, ſecurity, i. 60, 105; iv. 416; v. 477
Boughts, bouts, twiſts, folds, ii. 51
Bourdon, burden, v. 92
Bourn, a boundary, a ſtream, ii. 177
Bouzing, drinking, i. 234
Bowers, benders, muſcles, i. 315
Brame, bitter, violent, ii. 381
Bransles, brawls, dances, iii. 22
Breme, violent, hot, i. 23; iv. 277
Bren, to burn, iii. 138
Brickle, brittle, iii. 263; iv. 315

- Brize*, the gadfly, iv. 49; v. 2
Broom, gorse, furze, iv. 177
Brush, to bruise, iv. 26
Burst, burst, broke, ii. 354, 388
Bug, monster, object of terror, ii. 132, 313
Burden, a club, iv. 154
Burganet, a helmet, ii. 233
Buxom, yielding, obedient, ii. 60, 370, 415; iv. 161, 407
By and by, immediately, presently, i. 302; iv. 271
Bylive, and *belive*, active, quick, ii. 3, 222, 344; iii. 24, 369
Bynempt, took, ii. 107
Bynempt, named, mentioned, i. 87

Camis, a chemise, iii. 373
Camus, a shift, ii. 134
Can, for gan, began, ii. 309; iii. 130, 353
Cantred, hundred, district, v. 475
Capuccio, a hood, iii. 65
Carke, care, load, i. 190
Carl, churl, ii. 20
Cast, a couple, brace, iv. 141
Cast, throw, time, iv. 174
Castory, a colour, ii. 253
Causen, to explain, to tell, iii. 10
Cautelous, cautious, v. 320
Ceß, to cease, iii. 234
Chaffar, to exchange, to bargain, iv. 427
Chamelot water, camlet watered, iii. 289
Chamfred, wrinkled, furrowed, i. 23
Charm, to enchant, to bewitch, iii. 389, 447
Charm, a song, an incantation, a spell, iv. 336
Charming, tuning, playing, v. 31
Chaw, the jaw, i. 237
Chayre, dear, chary, ii. 443
Checklaton, a rich kind of oriental stuff, iv. 153
Cherry, to cherish, to cheer, iv. 198
Chevifance, enterprize, bargain, dealing, i. 59; ii. 241, 480
Child (see also *Infant*), knight, iv. 4

Cleep, to call, to name, ii. 128
Clofely, secretly, iv. 227
Cloyed, wounded, ii. 461
Cogish, affinity, v. 336
Coll, to embrace the neck, ii. 374
Commen, to commune, iii. 443
Comment, to devise, to feign, iv. 283
Company, companion, iii. 97
Compare, to procure, to obtain, to accumulate, i. 236
Compassion, to compassionate, to pity, iv. 340
Compast, round, iii. 152
Complement, completion, ii. 416
Complines, evening song, iv. 401
Concrew, to grow together, iii. 207
Condition, inward or mental qualities, iii. 456
Confused, commingled, v. 247
Contain, to retain, ii. 272
Conteck, contest, ii. 360
Contraire, to oppose, to contrary, iv. 244
Contrive, to wear away, to spend, ii. 255
Convince, to conquer, ii. 370
Copesmate, fellow-dealer, iv. 419
Corb, crooked, bent, i. 24
Corbes, corbels, iii. 251
Cordwayne, Cordovan leather, ii. 135; iv. 60
Corfive, corrosive, iii. 238
Cott, a little boat, ii. 176
Could, knew, iv. 120
Counterfesaunce, counterfeiting, imitation, iv. 334, 408
Counterpeise, to counterpoise, to counterbalance, iii. 336
Cour, to cover, to cower, ii. 219
Covetize, covetousness, iv. 309
Cowardree, cowardice, iv. 421
Crake, to boast, to brag, to vaunt, iii. 345; iv. 281
Crank, lusty, courageous, i. 104
Craples, claws, iii. 437
Craven, a coward, iv. 132
Crook, a gibbet, iii. 379
Crowd, a fiddle, v. 169
Cuffling, scuffling, iii. 152

- Culver*, a dove, v. 161
Curat, cuirafs, iii. 435; iv. 111
Curlets, leather furniture, iii. 379
Curtaxe, a cutlafs, iii. 118

Daint, dainty, ii. 336; iii. 87
Daintest, daintest, iv. 170
Dapper, neat, pretty, i. 115
Darraign, to prepare, to arrange, i. 240
Darraine, to accomplish, iii. 234
Darts of Cupid, lead or gold, iii. 54
Dayes-man, arbitrator, ii. 226
Dearling, darling, iv. 336
Dearnly, secretly, darkly, v. 240
Death's Dance, a pageant, i. 128
Decked, adorned, ornamented, iii. 51
Decrew, to decrease, iii. 182
Deem, to judge, decide, to doom, ii. 212; iii. 296
Defend, to forbid, to repel, ii. 325; iv. 374
Define, to conclude, iii. 124
Defray, to satisfy, to settle, iii. 169
Degender, to degenerate, iii. 306; v. 209; 376
Delay, to remove, to put away, to postpone, ii. 188
Delay, to temper, mitigate, v. 257
Delices, delights, ii. 168; iii. 251
Demayne, demeanour, ii. 224
Demean, to disgrace, vilify, iv. 151
Demiss, humble, v. 211
Deny, to refuse, iii. 316
Dernful, dismal, dark, v. 85
Dernly, secretly, darkly, mournfully, ii. 98, 342; iii. 73
Derring do, a daring or bold enterprise, i. 117; ii. 156
Derring doers, daring doers, iii. 117
Designing, pointing out, signifying, iii. 410
Desse, dais, raised platform, iii. 268
Diapred, diversified, dappled, v. 167
Diffused, dispersed, iv. 17
Dight, to prepare, to finish, i. 228, 308; ii. 167; iii. 258
Dirk, dark, to darken, i. 27, 102
Disavance, to retreat from, iii. 50

Discede, cleft, cut in two, iii. 94
Discoure, to discover, ii. 254, 399
Discourse, traversing, shifting, changing place, iv. 162
Discry, to discover, to display, iii. 96
Discry, to describe, iii. 292
Discust, shaken off, ii. 354
Disentrail, to pour out from the entrails, iii. 132
Disloign, to separate, to part, iii. 258
Dismayd, or dismade, ii. 290
Disple, to discipline, ii. 31
Disseise, to dispossess, iv. 280
Distraught, torn in two, iii. 204
Distraughted, distracted, v. 217
Diverse, to diverge, ii. 403
Doe, to cause or to make, i. 287; iii. 364
Dædale, skilful, cunning, fruitful, ii. 336; iii. 266
Dole, a share, a portion, iii. 368
Donne, done on, iii. 177
Donne, to do, iv. 201
Doole, complaint, dole, iii. 211
Dortour, dormitory, iv. 234
Double more, as much again, iii. 417
Doucepere, one of the twelve Peers, iii. 30
Drear, dreariness, iv. 74
Drent, drowned, iii. 420; iv. 376; v. 79
Drivel, a driveller, iii. 105
Droyle, a drudge, iv. 391
Dumpish, melancholy, sad, sorrowful, iii. 106; v. 117
Dumps, sorrow, sadness, v. 142
Duresse, imprisonment, compulsion, hardship, iii. 217

Earne, to yearn, to long for, to be grieved, ii. 141; iii. 27, 252
Earst, at, at length, at first, as formerly, iii. 305
Eath, easy, easily, ii. 139; iii. 189, 230, 292
Edify, to build, to erect, i. 187; ii. 342; iv. 379
Efforce, to force, ii. 203

- Eft*, af terwards, fubfequently, again,
ii. 10; iii. 130
Eke, to increafe, to add to, iii. 338
Els, elfewhere, already, i. 261
Embaild, bound up, ii. 135
Embay, to bathe, ii. 325; iii. 42
Embofs, to ornament, ii. 360
Emboft, foaming at the mouth, ii. 11
Emboft, inclofed, fhut up, iv. 108
Emboweled, difboweled, ii. 474
Embrewed, bloody, wet with blood,
ii. 450; v. 143
Eme, an uncle, ii. 276
Emmarble, to harden, v. 190
Empeach, to hinder, to accufe, i.
313; ii. 198, 400; iii. 262, 419
Empight, placed, fixed, iv. 235
Encheafon, occafion, ii. 96
Endlong, from end to end, iii. 26
Endofse, to engrave on the back, iv.
19; v. 54
Endue, to endow, i. 244
Enfeloned, become fierce, or en-
raged, made fell, iii. 440
Enbaunced, raifed, lifted up, iii. 185
Enlumine, to enlighten, to illumine,
v. 150
Enrace, or encafe, ii. 443
Enfeam, to fatten, iii. 285
Entail, carving, ii. 194
Entaild, engraved, cut, ii. 135, 184
Enterdeal, mediation, interpoftion,
iii. 430; iv. 414
Entertake, to entertain, to receive,
iii. 455
Entire, interior, inner, iii. 218, 419;
v. 118
Entrail, coil, involution, i. 181
Entrailed, twifted, interwoven, ii.
460; iii. 137
Entreat, to treat, iii. 253
Entrold, encircled, ii. 123
Enure, to accuftom, iii. 114
Enured, committed, ufed, iii. 457
Envoy, difmiffal, conclufion, iv. 322
Esloine, to withdraw, i. 233
Essoine, excufe, i. 233
Excheat, efcheat, right as lord, i.
254; ii. 491
Expert, to experience, i. 131
Extreat, extraction, iii. 463
Eyas, imperfectly fledged, young,
ii. 59; v. 207
Fain, to be glad, to defire, ii. 329;
iii. 9, 318, 431
Fay, faith, iii. 429
Faytour, vagabond, cheat, rogue, i.
57; ii. 79, 367
Fear, to fray, to frighten, iv. 172
Feare (fee alfo *Fere* and *Pheere*),
companion, wife, iii. 259
Fell, the gall, iii. 43
Felloneft, felleft, deadlieft, iii. 115
Fere, husband, wife, companion, ii.
23; iii. 141; iv. 69, 165
Ferme, a farm, ii. 433
Ferry, a boat, ii. 180
Fet, fetched, iii. 344; v. 84
Feutre, to prepare, to make ready,
iii. 157, 179
Fiaunt, commiffion, fiat, iv. 426
File, to defile, i. 87; ii. 359
File, to fmooth, to polifh, to refine,
ii. 366; v. 57
Fit, ftrain, divifion of a fong, v. 33
Flaw, a guft of wind, iii. 375
Fleet, to float, iii. 245
Flight, a kind of long arrow, iii. 404
Flitt, fleet, fwift, i. 160
Flour, fpot, floor, ii. 267
Foifon, plenty, abundance, v. 85
Folk-mote, a meeting of people, iii.
144; v. 390
Fon, a fool, a fond or filly perfon, i.
24; v. 41
Fond, foolifh, filly, ii. 15
Food, a feud, i. 304; ii. 87
For, becaufe, v. 36
Foray (and fee *Forray*), to ravage,
to pillage, iv. 221
Fordo, to undo, to deftroy, ii. 34,
103; iii. 311
Fore-bent, fore-taken, ii. 421
Foreflack, to delay, to defer, to post-
pone, v. 301
Forewearied, overwearied, ii. 6
Forlent, given beforehand, ii. 420

- Former*, foremost, iv. 152
Formerly, first, in the first place, iv. 54
Forray, to ravage, pillage, ii. 68
Forswat, over-sweated, i. 47
Forswonk, over-wearied, i. 47
Forthink, to unthink, to grieve, lament, iii. 297; iv. 105
Forthy, therefore, i. 105, 115
Fortunize, to make fortunate, or lucky, iv. 185
For why, because, for this reason, iii. 298; iv. 90, 130
Fouldring, thundering, ii. 115
Foy, faith, ii. 275
Franion, a companion, a wanton, ii. 121; iii. 347
Franklin, a freeholder, ii. 24
Free, innocent, pure, iii. 250
Frenne, a stranger, i. 44
Fronne, frozen, i. 30
Frounce, to plait, to wrinkle, i. 230
Frowy, mossy, ii. 495
Furniment, furnishing, iii. 136
Fyld, sealed, felt, iv. 233

Galage, a startup, a clown's shoe or boot, i. 31, 107
Galloglasses, Irish foot-soldiers, v. 361, 382
Gan, can, iv. 329
Garran, a kind of horse, v. 323
Gars, makes, causes, i. 43; ii. 165
Gate, way, progress, pace, ii. 415
Gear, matter, affair, furniture, iii. 433; iv. 78
Geason, rare, uncommon, singular, iv. 107, 386; v. 1
Gelt, a gelded horse or other castrated animal, iii. 200
Gern, to grin, iv. 29
Gest, deed, exploit, ii. 27, 114; iv. 421
Giambeux, boots, ii. 184
Gin, engine, snare, contrivance, ii. 129, 466
Glade, to gladden, iv. 206
Glaive, or *glave*, a sword, a weapon, iii. 203; v. 193

Glib, a lock of hair, iii. 214; v. 356
Godded, made a god of, v. 61
Glode, glided, or glowed, iii. 149
Gossips, akin through God, ii. 70
Graile, gravel, sand, i. 284; iii. 449; v. 14
Grange, a solitary rustic dwelling, iv. 269
Grayle, the holy vessel, ii. 279
Greave, groove, iii. 35
Gree, favour, liking, estimation, i. 161; ii. 127
Gree, in, kindly, in good part, favourably, iii. 399
Greete, sorrow, mourning, i. 94
Greete, to cry, to weep, i. 43
Gride, to pierce, i. 21; ii. 229, 359, 375; iii. 11, 176; iv. 363
Groom, a young man, ii. 137
Guarish, to cure, to heal, ii. 440
Guild, a hall, a fraternity, ii. 208
Gulf, the paunch, i. 108
Gyre, or *gire*, a circle, ii. 346

Habergeon, armour for the neck and breast, ii. 184
Hacqueton, a jacket worn under armour, ii. 230
Haggard, wild, untamed, ii. 53
Hale, health, welfare, v. 71
Halfendeal, half-part, iii. 19
Halidom, holiness, iv. 405
Harbrough, shelter, harbour, i. 73
Harrow, to subdue, to conquer, ii. 36; v. 151
Harrow, an exclamation, ii. 189
Haske, a basket for fish, i. 125
Haubergh, a coat of mail, ii. 232
Haught, lofty, proud, i. 274
Haulst, embraced round the neck, iii. 140
Hault, haughty, iv. 66
Heard, a herdsman, iv. 178
Heavenly, or heavy, ii. 459
Hele, to cover, iii. 262
Hent, took, ii. 108; iii. 445; iv. 10, 218, 273; v. 242
Heroess, heroine, iv. 344

- Herry*, to worship, to honour, to pay respect to, ii. 308
Herse, rehearsal of prayers, ii. 379
Hight, called, i. 155; ii. 6; iii. 199
Hight (see also *Behight*), committed, entrusted, i. 228; iii. 263
Hild, held, iii. 278
Hilding, a base low person, iv. 117
Hook or crook, by, in any possible way, iii. 330
Hooved (and see *Hove*), hovered, remained, v. 56
Hospitage, hospitality, iii. 22
Hoftleß, inhospitable, iii. 43
Hot (and see *Hight*), called, named, i. 109; ii. 57
Hotspur, rash, hasty, impetuous, inconsiderate, iii. 97
Hours, prayers, iv. 120
Hove, to remain, to hover, iii. 27
Huckster, hooker, hawker, iv. 419
Hugger mugger, in secret, iv. 390
Humbleß, humility, i. 219
Hurtle, to dash, or strike violently against, i. 231, 241; ii. 161
- Ifere*, together, in company, ii. 1
Ilk, that same, i. 97
Imp, a scion, i. 272; iv. 7
Imp, to engraft, to insert, iii. 235
Impacable, unappeasable, iii. 241
Impeach (see also *Empeach*), to hinder, to accuse, i. 313; iv. 376
Imply, to fold, or enfold, i. 267; ii. 55, 456
Importable, insupportable, ii. 228
Importunity, cruelty, severity, perverseness, ii. 392
Indew, to put on, ii. 456; iii. 23
Infant (see also *Child*), prince, knight, iv. 165
Infer, to bring upon, iv. 167
Infest, annoyance, ii. 298
Ingate, entrance, commencement, iii. 254; iv. 297; v. 407
Insolence, unusualness, unwontedness, v. 54
Instantly, earnestly, iii. 246
Intendiment, understanding, attention, ii. 436; iv. 332
- Interess*, concern in, interest, iv. 253
Invent, to find, i. 270
- Jacob's staff*, a pilgrim's staff, i. 276
Jane, a coin of Genoa, ii. 484
Javel, a low dirty fellow, iv. 396
Jesses, straps for hawks, iv. 101
Joan, Pope, as merry as, a phrase, ii. 174
Jolly, handsome, noble, i. 175
Jollyhead, mirth, jollity, iv. 219
Jovial, joyous, gladsome, ii. 321
- Keight*, caught, ii. 373; iii. 402
Kern, an Irish irregular foot-soldier, i. 87; v. 361
Kest, cast, iv. 231
Kestrel kind, a base kind, ii. 126
Kid, from *ken*, to know, i. 139
Kind, nature, ii. 120; iv. 173; v. 103, 245
Kindly, natural, naturally, i. 305; iv. 426
Kings and Kefars, iii. 52
Kirtle, a petticoat, a cloak, i. 94
Knife, a sword, ii. 412
- Lamping*, flaming, shining, v. 115
Lare, layer, pasture, iii. 220
Latch, to catch, i. 39
Launce, a balance, ii. 465
Leachcraft, medical or surgical skill or aid, ii. 387
Leap, a basket, i. 142
Lear, and *lere*, learning, lesson, lore, ii. 471; iv. 96
Leasing, lying, i. 281
Leave, to levy, to raise, ii. 271
Ledden, language, dialect, speech, iii. 279; v. 58
Legerdemain, sleight of hand, iii. 447; iv. 410
Leke, leaky, i. 258
Leman, a sweetheart, a lover, i. 177; ii. 168; iii. 241
Let, to hinder, i. 306
Levin, lightning, i. 95; iii. 405
Lewd, wicked, ignorant, lustful, ii. 407; iv. 69

- Licence to beg*, a pauper's, iv. 398
Lich, alike, equal, ii. 474
Lief, dear, ii. 8, 91, 239, 499
Lief or loth, liking or disliking, willing or unwilling, iii. 5
Lig, to lie, to repose, iv. 108
Like well, to thrive, i. 84
Likely, likeable, iv. 257
Likelyness, likeness, resemblance, similarity, iii. 420
Limebound, leamer or limer, iii. 329
Lin, to cease, to end, i. 184; ii. 389; v. 250
Lincoln green, a colour, iv. 60
Lionesse, part of Cornwall, iv. 68
List (and see *Lust*), to desire, to lust, to wish, ii. 366; iii. 342
Listful, disposed to listen, iii. 319
Lithe, pliable, yielding, i. 24
Loord, a clown, a lout, ii. 468
Loos, praise, laud, iv. 230
Lore, left, lost, iii. 77; iv. 142
Loring, instruction, learning, iii. 421
Lorrel, a loose fellow, i. 83
Lofel, an abandoned person, iii. 347; iv. 415
Lout, to bow, ii. 37; iii. 441
Lovely, loving, iii. 189, 354
Lover, a light, a louver, iv. 205
Lug, a perch or rod, a measure of length, ii. 264
Luskißness, sluggishness, laziness, iv. 53
Luß, wished, desired, iii. 430

Macerate, to make lean, iv. 357
Mail, interwoven armour, i. 246
Make, to write poetry, i. 75; v. 38
Make, to do, iv. 250
Make (see also *Mate*), a mate, a companion, i. 284; iii. 47; v. 74, 120
Malefice, evil deed, iv. 427
Malengin, ill intent, malignity, ii. 356; iii. 444
Mall, a mallet, a hammer, i. 299; iii. 173
Maltalent, ill-will, spleen, ii. 425
Mard, spoiled, injured, ii. 348

Martelled, hammered, ii. 479
Mate, to confound, destroy, ii. 5; iii. 216
Mate (see also *Make*), a mate, a companion, iii. 192
Maugre, in spite of, ii. 163
Meanly, indifferently, iv. 396
Meared, divided, iv. 446
Meddling, mixing, ii. 107
Meere, or *meare*, a boundary, iii. 17
Meint, or *ment*, mingled, i. 132, 197; iii. 54, 377; iv. 132, 357
Mell, to meddle, to mix, i. 186; iii. 242; iv. 35
Mercify, to compassionate, iv. 148
Mere, absolute, entire, v. 266
Mesprise, contempt, ii. 206
Mich, to steal, v. 484
Mieve, to move, iii. 301
Miniments, evidences, muniments, iii. 212
Minion, a pet, a favourite, ii. 120
Minished, diminished, ii. 62
Miscreance, misbelief, i. 59
Miscreated, ill-formed, ii. 208
Misfare, to go wrong, iii. 297
Mister, kind of, or manner of, iii. 300; iv. 221
Mister wight, manner or kind of man, ii. 9, 427, 469; iii. 196
Mistreth not, needeth not, signifieth not, ii. 482
Miswend, to go amiss, iv. 390
Moil, to defile, to soil, v. 214
Mome, blockhead, iv. 259
Mongibel, a volcano, ii. 248
Mops and mows, mocks and mouths, iv. 155
More, a root, a strawberry, iv. 265
Morion, a helmet, iv. 272; v. 15
Mostwhat, chiefly, v. 59
Mott, measured, meted, v. 44
Munificence, fortification, ii. 65
Muchel, much, mickle, i. 242; ii. 475
Must, new wine, iv. 276

Namely, especially, iv. 81, 281
Narre, nearer, iv. 443
Native, natural, iii. 401

- Nephews*, grandchildren, descendants, i. 253; iv. 440
Nett, pure, clean, iii. 68
Nigardise, miserliness, sparingness, iii. 215
Nonce, or *nones*, occasion, once, iv. 6; v. 11
Note, might not, iii. 9, 342
Nought, not, ii. 201
- Of*, off, at a distance from, ii. 420; iii. 44
Off and *of*, i. 305; ii. 52, 131
On and *one* confounded, ii. 141
Origane, bastard marjoram, i. 209
Ought, to own, to owe, i. 240; ii. 231, 353; iv. 77, 143, 173
Overcraw, to overcrow, to overawe, to subdue, ii. 19
Overdight, covered over, iii. 222
Overbent, overtook, ii. 266, 472; iii. 424
Overren, to over-run, iii. 328
Owches, jewels, onyxes, ii. 33
Owe (and see *Ought*), to own, to possess, iv. 173
- Panachæa*, a panacea, ii. 437
Pannikell, the brain-pan, the skull, ii. 433
Paravant, openly, before all, beyond all, ii. 368; v. 65
Parbreak, a vomit, i. 182
Pardale, a sort of panther, i. 273
Parget, plaster, varnish, v. 9
Paß, to care for, to heed, iii. 231; iv. 427
Passionate, to be in grief, ii. 72
Patience perforce, of necessity, by compulsion, ii. 126; iii. 21
Payse, to poise, to weigh, ii. 262
Peaze, a heavy blow, ii. 370
Peece, a castle, a fortification, ii. 292; iii. 23, 328; v. 122
Peevishness, silliness, folly, iv. 150
Pelf, scraps, rubbish, i. 236
Perlous, perilous, ii. 296, 311
Persant, piercing, penetrating, iii. 8
Persue, a track, ii. 435
- Pight*, fixed, placed, fet, ii. 13; iii. 306; v. 9
Pill, to pillage, to plunder, iv. 193
Pinnoed, pinioned, iii. 362
Pionings, diggings, ii. 282
Plesh, splash, pool, ii. 229
Plight, to fold, to plait, ii. 175
Poise, weight, ii. 66
Poll and pill, to extort, iii. 323
Pope Joan, as merry as, a phrase, ii. 174
Portess, a prayer-book, i. 232
Potshares, potshards, fragments of pottery, iv. 54
Pouke, Puck, Robin Goodfellow, Hob-goblin, v. 176
Pouldred, powdered, spotted, besprinkled, ii. 371
Practic, treacherous, practised, ii. 78
Practise, to steal cunningly or treacherously, iv. 183
Prank, to display, to dress, to prink, i. 230; ii. 120
Prank, injury, mischief, playful trick, iii. 315
Preace, press, crowd, i. 212; ii. 73; iii. 418
Preeve, or *prieve*, to prove, iv. 434
Presage, to point out, to foresee, to forebode, ii. 43
Preßt, ready, ii. 226; iii. 224; iv. 144, 247
Pretence, intention, ii. 75; iii. 426
Pretend, to hold or to extend forth, iv. 97
Pretended, stretched over, iv. 214
Prevent, to anticipate, iii. 99
Prief, proof (see also *Preeve*), i. 316; iv. 400
Prime, Spring, morning, i. 209
Privy or pert, secret or open, with or without disguise, i. 108
Proin, to prune, to smooth or arrange feathers, v. 86
Protence, a stretching out, ii. 383
Protend, to stretch out, ii. 383
Protract, delay, dilation, v. 160
Prow, courageous, hardy, ii. 391
Pryse, to pay the price for, iii. 274

- Pumy stone*, or *pumies*, pumice stones, stones, i. 39; ii. 439
Purchase, booty, i. 216; iii. 431, 441; iv. 212, 416
Purpose, conversation, discourse, i. 205; ii. 175, 237, 363; iii. 191
Purposes, a game, iii. 23

Quaint, strange, nice, curious, i. 119; ii. 467, 472; iii. 87
Quaint, quenched, ii. 162
Quarrel, a kind of square-headed arrow, ii. 295
Quarry, game, a heap of dead game, ii. 301; iv. 65
Quayed, quailed, or cowed, i. 306
Quell, to kill, to subdue, iv. 278
Queme, to please, to gratify, i. 56
Quick, to stir, to move, to give signs of life, iii. 454
Quight, to requite, to repay, i. 185; ii. 441; iii. 262
Quinch, to stir, to move, v. 460
Quit claim, to release, iv. 63
Quip, to taunt, to jeer, iv. 153, 410
Quooke, quaked, iv. 252

Rail, to pour down, i. 279; ii. 229, 424; iv. 296
Rakebell, worthless, rascally, iv. 16; v. 387
Randon, random, i. 57; ii. 144
Rascal, base, villanous, ii. 70
Rash, to tear violently, iii. 110, 343
Rashly, hastily, suddenly, ii. 359; iv. 429
Rath, early, soon, ii. 391
Raught, reached, ii. 143, 473; iii. 139, 195
Ray, to beray, to streak, ii. 100; iv. 102; v. 14
Rayons, rays, v. 9
Read, or *rede*, to advise, ii. 28
Re-ally, to rally, iv. 249
Reame, realm, kingdom, iii. 226
Reckless, reckless, careless, iv. 420
Recoil, to retire, to withdraw, ii. 28
Recoure, to recover, iii. 242, 271
Recuile, to recoil, iv. 48

Recule, to turn back, to retire, iv. 17
Recure (see also *Recoure*), to recover, iii. 225; iv. 113
Redoubted, dreaded, iii. 311
Redounding, redundant, i. 213
Regiment, government, command, iii. 320; iv. 268
Relate, to bring back, ii. 502
Relide, joined himself, iii. 243
Relieve, to awake, i. 125
Relive, to revive, to bring to life again, iv. 216
Renning, running, v. 70
Renowned, renowned, i. 247
Renverst, reversed, iii. 352
Reprieved, reproved, iii. 400
Reprize, to take again, ii. 302
Resiant, resident, iii. 283
Resolve, to dissolve, to melt, iv. 359
Retrait, a picture, a portrait, ii. 239
Reverse, to bring back, ii. 18, 404
Revert, to return, iii. 190
Revest, re-clothe, ii. 93
Rew, row (see also *Arew*), ii. 450; iii. 380; iv. 333
Riotise, riotousness, iv. 357
Rivage, shore, iii. 183
Roine, to growl, iii. 455
Rood, the cross, iv. 120
Rote, a musical instrument, ii. 261; iii. 235
Rove, to shoot, iii. 11, 384
Rown, to whisper, iii. 30
Rules, unruly, lawless, uncontrollable, iv. 371
Rutty, rooty, v. 257

Sacred, enchanted, holy, ii. 317
Sad, grave, heavy, melancholy, dull, i. 176
Saine, to say, iv. 283
Salied, leaped, sallied, ii. 187
Salued, saluted, ii. 224
Sam (see also *Ysame*), together, collected, ii. 42
Samite, silk-stuff, iii. 66
Saw, sentence, saying, decree, v. 63
Say, a coarse stuff, i. 94
Say, assay, proof, iv. 224

- Scand*, climbed, iv. 244
Scarmoges, skirmishes, ii. 186
Scern, to discern, iii. 28
Scorse, exchange, interchange, ii. 258; iii. 6; iv. 176
Scrike, to shriek, to scream, v. 100
Scruze, to squeeze, to screw, to crush, ii. 302, 437
Scryde, descried, iv. 36
Scryne, a desk, a coffer, a casket, a chest, i. 173
Sdain, disdain, iii. 389
See, a feat, throne, iv. 421
Selcouth, seldom known, strange, iii. 215
Seneschal, house-steward, governor, iii. 90; v. 402
Sept, family, v. 300
Set by, to esteem, to value, iii. 192
Shard, division, boundary, what is shared, ii. 187
Sheen, shining, glistening, bright, glittering, iv. 424
Shend, to rebuke, to disgrace, to reprove, i. 97; ii. 160, 220, 421; iii. 1, 157; iv. 129
Shere, and *sheer*, transparent, bright, pure, ii. 378
Shope, shaped, formed, iii. 386
Shot in years, aged, advanced in life, iii. 398
Shrift, confession, iv. 402
Shright, shrieked, ii. 496
Shright, a shriek, iv. 95
Shrive, to take confession, or to confess, i. 94; iii. 301
Sib, related to, ii. 390
Sicker, secure, certainly, sure, i. 96; iv. 401
Sickerneß, security, certainty, ii. 473; iii. 61
Siege, a feat, a throne, ii. 122
Sient, a scion, iii. 310
Sight, sighed, iv. 73; v. 6
Sin, since, iv. 422
Singulfs, sobs, iii. 46, 396
Sir, a title given to priests, i. 66
Sitbe, time, iii. 32; v. 32
Sits, suits, i. 75, 125, 186, 312
Skean, a knife, a dagger, v. 360
Skill, to signify, to care for, iii. 359; iv. 107
Skill, knowledge, acquirement, ability, iv. 204
Sneb, and *snib*, to snub, to check, to reprove, i. 26
Soil, spoil, dirt, mire, iii. 128
Sold, pay, remuneration, i. 240
Soot, sweet, i. 118
Sootblich, soothly, truly, ii. 367
Sort, company, society, ii. 351; iii. 366; iv. 176, 211, 250; v. 73
Sound, swoon, ii. 426; iv. 53
Sovenance, remembrance, ii. 176; iv. 346
Space, to walk, to roam, iii. 119
Spalles, the shoulders, ii. 185
Spell, charm, enchantment, i. 37
Sperfed, dispersed, thin, scattered, i. 188; iii. 353
Spill, to spoil, to damage, iv. 36
Spilt, inlaid, pieced, iii. 251
Squib, a petty paltry trifling fellow, iv. 398
Squire, a square, a rule, ii. 105
Stales, decoys, baits, wantons, ii. 87; iv. 192
Stalled, stolen, iv. 430
Stark, firm, strong, stiff, ii. 100
Stead, place, station, ii. 16
Steale, stale, handle, iv. 29
Steane, a stone, iv. 278
Sterve, to die, ii. 185; iii. 87
Steven, noise, outcry, i. 110
Stint, to stop, iv. 425
Stream, to fend forth, v. 197
Strene, descent, race, strain, iii. 454; iv. 126
Stress, distress, iii. 48
Strich, the screech-owl, or stritch-owl, ii. 316
Sty, to ascend, to fly up, to rise, i. 161; ii. 56, 209; iii. 245; iv. 459; v. 13
Sugred, sweet, agreeable, ii. 170
Surbet, wearied, bruised, ii. 116
Surquedry, pride, insolence, ii. 315; iii. 331

- Swain*, a person, a youth, a labourer, i. 306; ii. 296; iii. 34
Swelt, fainted, iv. 233
- Tanistry*, thanistry, the dignity of a chief in Ireland, v. 304
Tartare, *Tartary*, and *Tartarus*, hell, i. 297; ii. 306; iv. 375
Tassel gent, the tierfel gentle, or male goshawk, ii. 421
Teemed, in a team, iv. 366
Teen, grief, sorrow, vexation, ii. 73, 105, 106, 439; iii. 42, 131, 300, 304, 314; v. 234
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